The Capitol's Back Door

April 23, 1964 35¢

AS THE DUST SETTLES IN BRAZIL

THE REPORTER

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New space power—the hybrid

Better than three years ago, UTC recognized the potential of the hybrid rocket motor and launched a pioneering company sponsored program to make this power available.

The advantages to be gained: simplicity and reliability of a solid, controllability of a liquid, low-cost, no explosive hazard, higher specific impulse than a solid, higher density than a liquid, wider propellant selections, thrust modulation, stop-start capability—the characteristics of an ideal propulsion system.

Past history of hybrid developments, however, divulged some particularly knotty problems such as poor combustion efficiency, very low burning rates and non-uniform burning of the fuel.

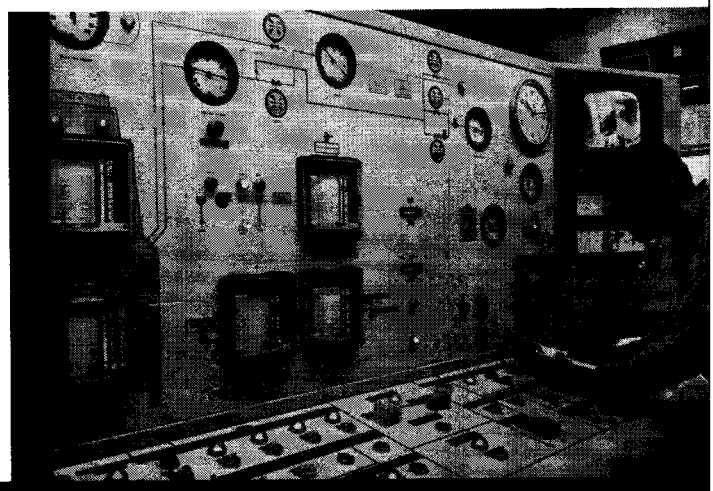
Because of its rapid progress in solving these problems during those early years, UTC gained the support of the Advanced Research Projects Agency, the Air Force and the Naval Bureau of Weapons, and reawakened the interest of the entire propulsion industry.

Primary reason for the unequaled results obtained by UTC in its hybrid rocket program is that company scientists made as their first objective the study of what happens inside such an engine, i.e., the basic phenomena of hybrid combustion.

Because of this advanced knowledge, UTC is now developing a hybrid propulsion system with the highest performance of any in the field employing readily available chemicals; has in over 7,800 test firings of hybrid rocket motors achieved reliability in excess of 99.9%; demonstrated in numerous test firings throttling and stop-start capabilities; designed hybrid rocket configurations capable of performing existing space missions at a cost of 30-40% less than other propulsion systems in use today, and has produced the only hybrid rocket motor that can be test fired publicly because of its safety features.

Thus the initial establishment of a sound scientific foundation by UTC, followed by an aggressive development program, has brought the hybrid rocket into the family of practical, predictable and reliable space propulsion systems.

Scientists and engineers at UTC welcome sophisticated propulsion challenges such as this—and welcome others with quiet competence and inquiring minds who seek such challenges.



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Rocket propulsion
capability over
the full spectrum

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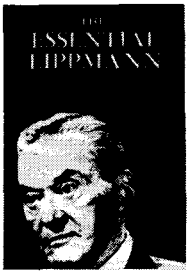

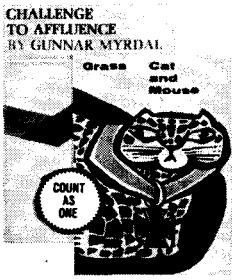

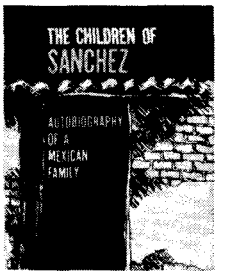

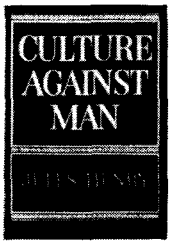

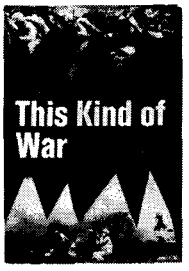

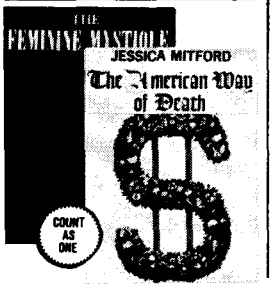

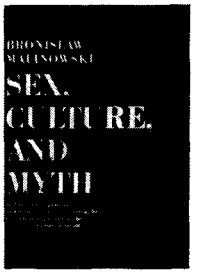

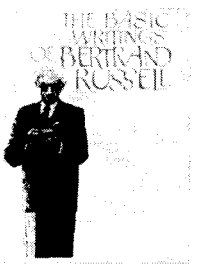

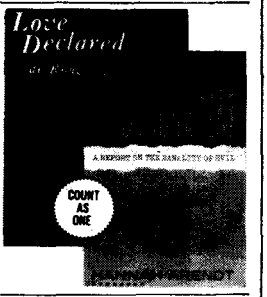

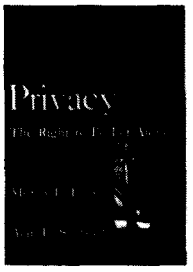

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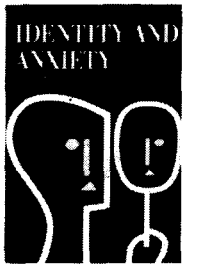

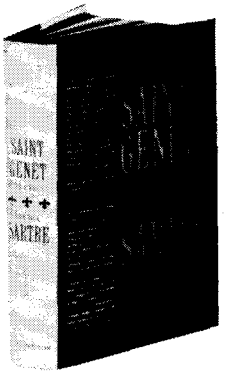

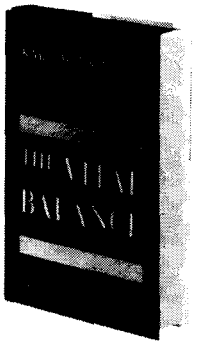

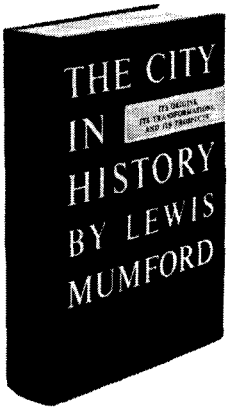

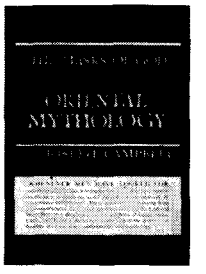

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

WHILE the headline writers are obsessed with the activity in the Senate—which is carrying on either a filibuster or a "protracted debate" on civil rights, depending on your point of view —*The Reporter* pauses this fortnight to take a look at some of the other things that have been going on up on Capitol Hill. In many ways there is a new mood among our legislators since the man they knew so well moved into the White House. Congress may even be stirred to take new and realistic looks at some of the measures that have been befogged with partisan clichés and legislative bureaucracy. Of course, one way Congress acts most effectively is precisely by not facing issues squarely but, as some would have it, by back-door legislation. **Douglass Cater,** our national affairs editor, describes this technique as it has been applied to secret defense projects. . . . It was Congress, not the administration, that tacked an amendment on last year's foreign-aid appropriation to punish other countries engaged in trade with Cuba. **Philip Geyelin,** who covers the State Department for the *Wall Street Journal,* describes some of the difficulties the administration has encountered in trying to make this bit of Congressional foreign policy appear to be more effective than it actually is. . . . Now that we no longer have a Catholic but a Southern Protestant in the White House, Congress may be disposed to be less rigid about Federal aid to church-supported schools. A report on the new mood in Washington toward Federal aid to education is offered by **William Lee Miller,** associate professor at the Yale Divinity School, whose collected essays will soon be brought out by Houghton Mifflin under a title that will be familiar to many *Reporter* readers, *Piety Along the Potomac.* . . . And the lines seem to be a little less firmly drawn on another front, that involving medical assistance to the aged. Our report on the new prospects for Medicare is provided by two experienced Washington newsmen, **Paul Duke** and **Stanley Meisler.**

WHEN President Johnson "rededicated" the Alliance for Progress last month, the third anniversary ceremony had a hollow ring. There was neither much progress to report nor much co-operation visible in the Alliance. On Easter weekend, however, a revolt in Brazil removed a government that had impeded Alliance objectives in the largest and most important Latin-American nation. **A. A. Berle,** former Assistant Secretary of State and ambassador to Brazil, shows how the new régime offers hope that the Alliance will finally have a continental base. . . . U.S. aid to Brazil, although already past the $2-billion mark, has in the past been largely offset by rampant inflation. The country's economic plight is now worse than ever; and even though Secretary of State Rusk has promised to "work closely" with the new government, **James W. Rowe** warns that many reforms must be carried out if aid is to have any lasting effect. Mr. Rowe is a member of the American Universities Field Staff. . . . President de Gaulle's visit to Mexico is the subject of a report by **Gladys Delmas,** an American writer resident in Mexico City who specializes in hemisphere affairs. . . . **Denis Warner's** impressions of the famine in Indonesia and Sukarno's obsession with Malaysia were gathered during a swing he has just completed through Southeast Asia. Mr. Warner, an Australian journalist, is a frequent contributor.

FOR SOME YEARS, **George Bailey** has sent us reports from Germany. As a respite from the cold-war fronts, he now returns in memory to the quiet Oxford seasons he knew as a student after the war when he was privileged to "read English" under the Christian philosopher and writer C. S. Lewis, whose figure he evokes. . . . **Fernando Krahn's** unhappy prisoner has obviously not been consulted by the decorators papering his cell. . . . Once again, the dramatis personae of the French Revolution enact their frenzied story in **Sarel Eimerl's** review. . . . And once again, Hamilton confronts Jefferson: **John William Ward** discusses Clinton Rossiter's new book. Mr. Ward is completing a study of the ideal of individualism in America at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Stanford, California.

Ouro Preto, in the mining state of Minas Gerais in Brazil, is crowded with eighteenth-century baroque churches and sculpture. The Brazilians preserve the town as a national monument, and **Reg Massie,** our art director, has made it the subject of his cover.

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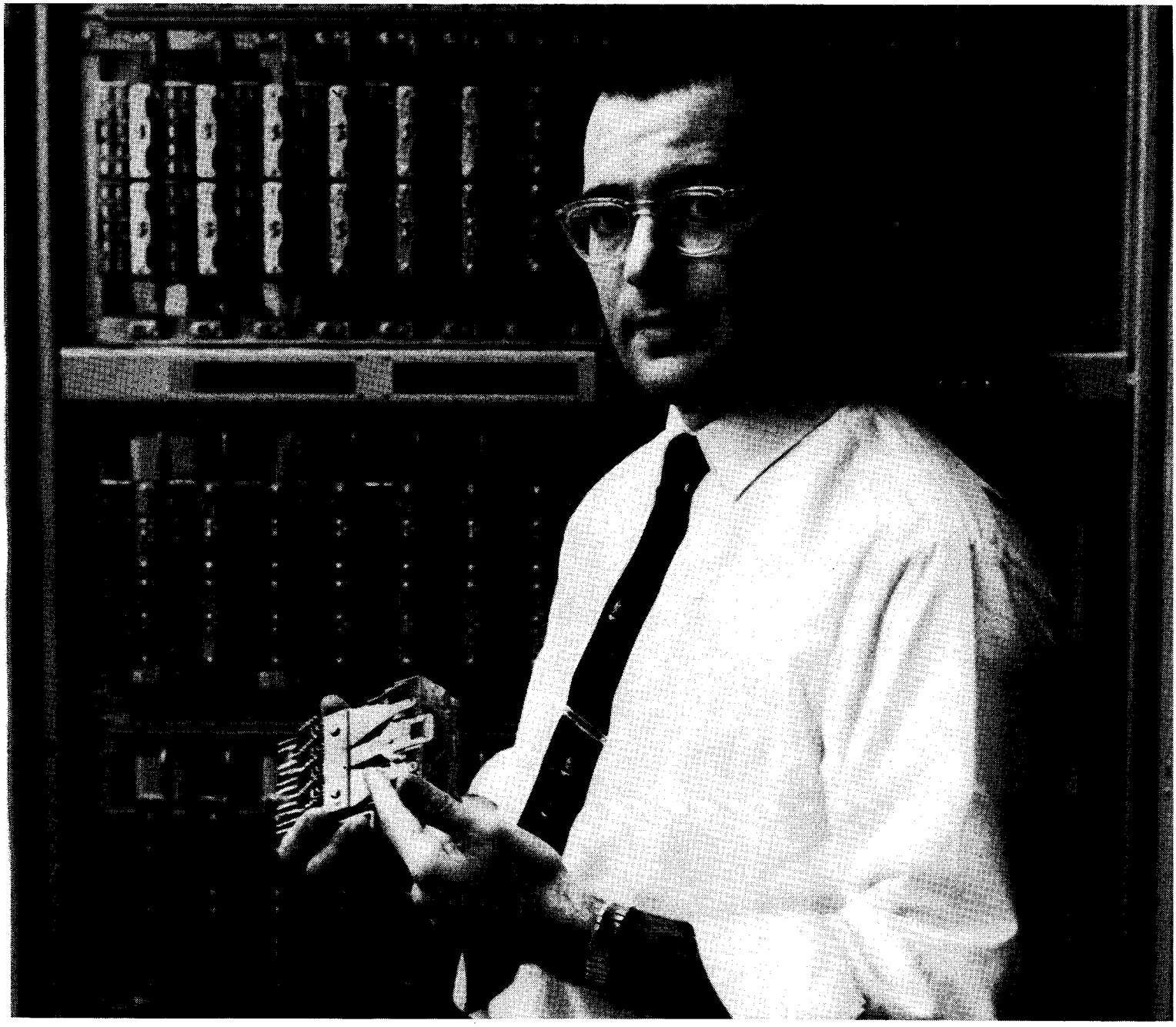

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'THE GREATEST OF THESE . . .'

To the Editor: Your editorial in the March 26 issue of *The Reporter* is one of the most incisive and challenging I've seen. With all the millions of words being deluged into the minds of our complacent Americans, your piece makes the mark in one small page. It hits upon ideas and issues much talked about in inner circles but conveniently passed over and forgotten in deference to the comfort of the moment, the bureaucratic detail of the moment, and the easy dollar of the moment. There are many, many ramifications to the wide question of poverty—material and spiritual—but they couldn't possibly be clarified, and with visible results, by ambitious politicians who have their own ax to grind and a credit card to go with it.

ELEANOR FILOMIA
New York

THE SIAN INCIDENT

To the Editor: The speculation about the effect of the Sian incident that accompanies Robert Knapp's perceptive review of *America's Failure in China 1941-1950*, by Tang Tsou (*The Reporter*, March 12), is interesting, but like many such exercises it suffers in part from historical inaccuracy.

It was not the Chinese who prevented the Kwantung Army from attacking the Soviet Union, but rather the fact that from the time of Japan's decision to move south (a decision made in 1940 and reconfirmed in mid-1941), the Kwantung Army's mission was essentially defensive. Rather than planning to invade Siberia, the Kwantung Army feared desperately that it might itself be attacked by Russian forces. The timetable for Japan's military conquests in the winter of 1941-1942 was so planned as to enable the return of troops to Manchuria in time to halt any possible Soviet spring offensive against the Kwantung Army. By the summer of 1942, the Japanese were so engaged in the Pacific that they could not spare troops to reinforce the Kwantung Army and within another year began stripping Manchuria of its best units in order to meet the American offensive.

To say that a Nazi defeat of Russia in 1941 was prevented by the Sian-inspired united front in China is to ignore too many other factors and possibilities and to oversimplify a connected but not causal relationship.

STANLEY L. FALK
Industrial College of the Armed Forces
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Knapp replies:
I agree entirely with the sequence of events set out in Mr. Falk's second paragraph, and would suggest that the difficulty does not arise from historical inaccuracy but rather from my having been perhaps too elliptical in my speculation on the consequences of the Sian incident.

My point was that if Chiang had not been released, the entire course of events in China would have been tremendously altered just as Mao and Chou feared. I think that Mr. Falk will agree that if Chiang had been murdered at Sian, the Japanese might have been able well before 1940 to repeat the conquest of the main area of China as they had already conquered Manchuria. Without any threat to their position in China in 1941, would their timetable for a move south have been the same?

I doubt it. My point was not that the Kwantung Army was under actual pressure by Chinese forces but that Japan's wide involvement and consequent position of the Kwantung Army were the result of an alternative course adopted by Japan as a consequence of her inability to defeat the Nationalists and Communists in detail, which in turn was a product of the Sian incident. As to the causal relationship between the latter two conditions, I am sure that Mr. Falk and I must both accept the judgments of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai.

ROBERT P. KNAPP, JR.
New York

'THE RULE OF O'

To the Editor: Like many another scientist in pursuit of a theory to explain observed facts, Robert Bingham seems to be ignoring what is right in front of him in favor of something farther off in his elaborate explanation that Americans tend to vote for Presidential candidates whose names contain variants of the sound of the letter "o" (*The Reporter*, March 26).

The much simpler and more scientifically sound explanation is that voters

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #99

S	A	I	N	T	S	■	S	C	A	N	S	I	O	N
M	■	N	■	R	■	E	■	O	■	A	■	C	■	A
U	L	S	T	E	R	S	■	N	I	B	L	I	C	K
G	■	T	■	N	■	O	■	T	■	S	■	N	■	E
G	R	A	N	D	O	P	E	R	A	■	V	E	N	D
L	■	N	■	T	■	■	■	A	■	F	■	S	■	■
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R	■	■	■	K	■	O	■	T	■	L	■	■	■	E
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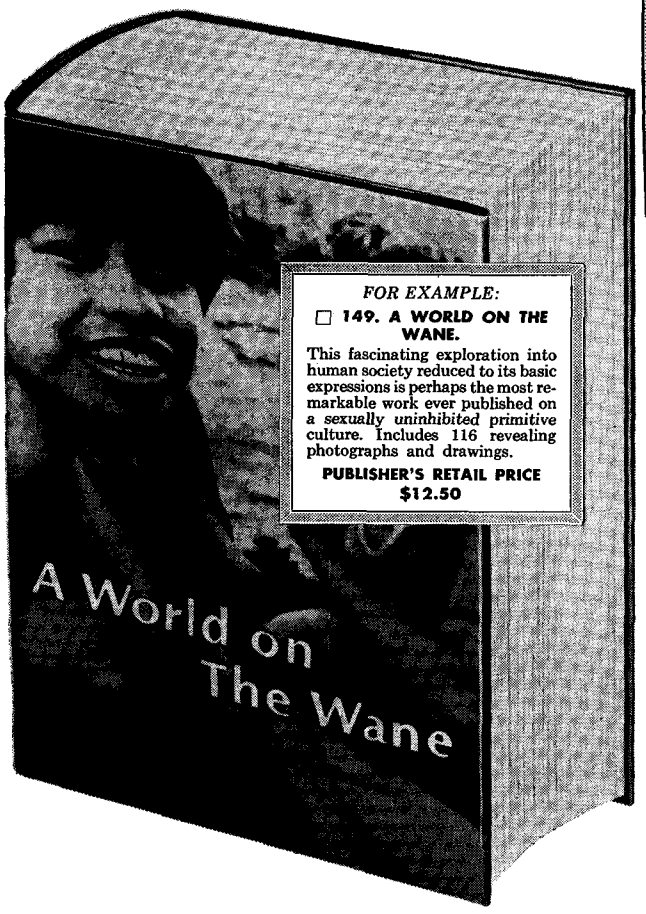

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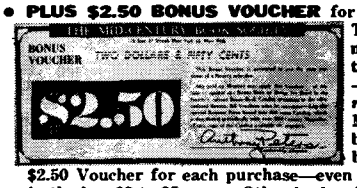

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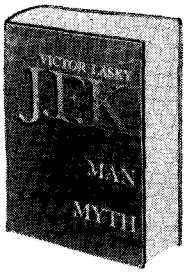

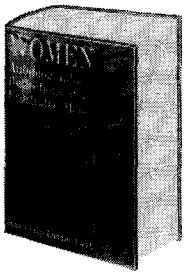

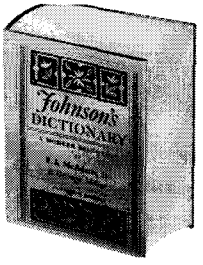

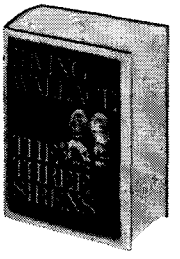

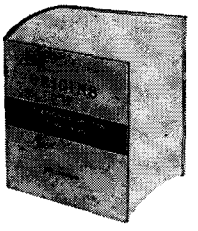

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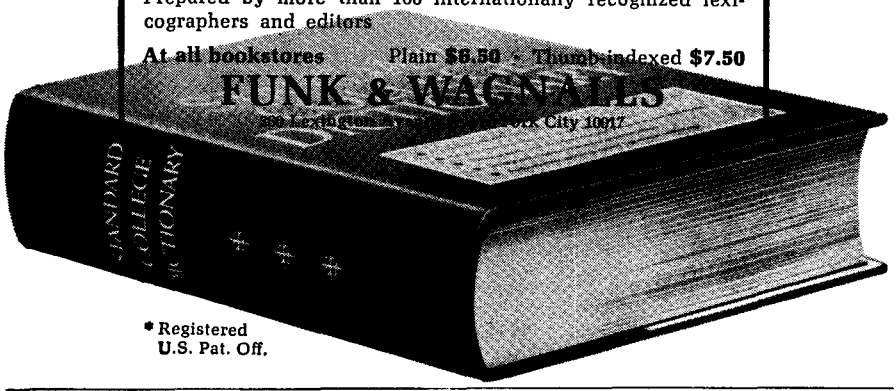

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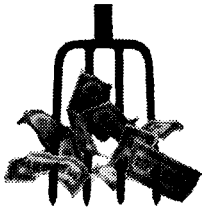

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prefer the Presidential candidate with the longer surname. This is a rule rarely broken since the election of 1900 and entirely unbroken since that of 1924.

It is, of course, fraught with portent for the forthcoming election of 1964. The Republicans may have little chance whomever they nominate; but they can at least improve this chance by nominating someone with a longer surname than Johnson.

The only clear-cut victory of a short-named man over a longer-named one came in 1908, when Taft beat Bryan. In 1912 one candidate against Wilson had a longer surname, but one had a shorter. And in 1924 if you add the letters in the names of Davis and LaFollette and divide by two, this composite candidate has 7.5 letters in his name, compared to eight in that of the successful Coolidge. For all these elections, the names of the successful candidates average 7.7 letters, while those of the unsuccessful ones average approximately 6.2. Further, the worst popular defeat in the twentieth century was that of Cox in 1920, whose name was also proportionately the shortest in contrast to that of his rival, Harding.

The rule did not work so strongly during our earlier history, although a majority of longer-named candidates did defeat shorter-named ones. It is evident that for some reason the preference of Americans for longer-named Presidential candidates is growing.

The warning is plain. For this year's choice, the Republicans have a better chance if they name Goldwater, Rockefeller, or even Scranton, to oppose Johnson than if they name Lodge, Nixon, or Romney.

Parents with short surnames might also to be wise to advise their children to seek careers in science, business, or the professions rather than in the path of politics leading toward the Presidency, which for them would apparently be a dead-end street.

ROSCOE FLEMING
Denver

'THE MEANING OF SILENCE'

To the Editor: How singularly fortunate that your editorial comment upon Tom F. Driver's review of the Hochhuth "attempt at disposal" of the past in the April 9 *Reporter* should be followed by M. L. Rosenthal's formidable poem "The Enemy."

Somewhere within the last few days I read the statement that man must be able to deal with history in order to justify himself in the present. And behold, Mr. Rosenthal pleads for the crucifixion of "sick Memory herself, but foolish History!" You had just finished saying that history, especially in the case of the most horrible example, cannot be disposed of. The conjunction of ideas was marvelous.

REV. D. GORDON JEWETT
Cold Spring Presbyterian Church
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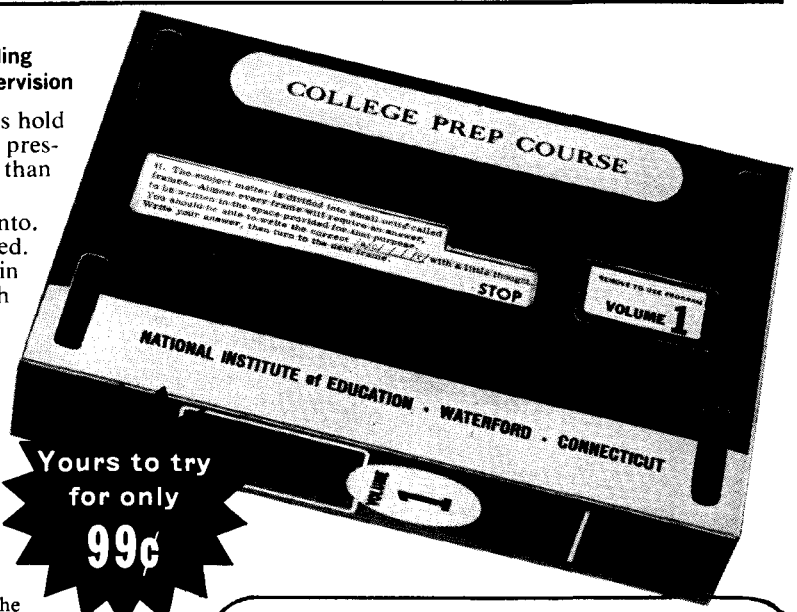

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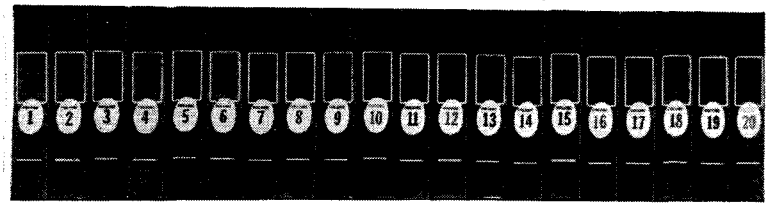

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Douglas MacArthur

No sooner had he died and well before the final entombment in the MacArthur Memorial, the raucous controversy started raging over what the general is supposed to have said to two newspapermen. No one will ever know whether or to what an extent he was quoted correctly, but certainly there was a MacArthur ring in the statements attributed to him. It was as if the old soldier couldn't stay dead and, contrary to his own solemn pronouncement, could not fade away. He never will.

Controversial he has been in all his historic deeds throughout his life, because of the style with which he faced history, in the consciousness that he had to be portrayed as a protagonist. His consciousness was kept undeviating by self-consciousness. But he needed no effort to appear unique because he was.

From his early West Point days to the glory on the battlefields of France as commander of the Rainbow Division; to his riding of a white horse to rout the Bonus Marchers; to the Philippines and Corregidor; and then to the island-hopping, the proconsular rule of Japan; and then to Korea, to his recall, to his speech before Congress —is there any one life of any American, dead or alive, military or civilian, whose single and cumulative achievements can be compared to those of Douglas MacArthur? Or anyone else whose single and cumulative deeds have lent themselves to an equal degree of glorification and aspersion?

During the last years of his life, this soldier's soldier became the most intransigent advocate of the total abolition of war. In an address delivered in Los Angeles on January 26, 1955, he said: "It is now no longer convincing to argue, whether true or not, that we cannot trust the other side—that one maverick can destroy the herd. It would no longer be a matter depending upon trust—the self-interest of each nation outlawing war would keep it true to itself. And there is no influence so potent and powerful as self-interest. It would not necessarily require international inspection of relative armaments—the public opinion of every part of the world would be the great denominator which would insure the issue—each nation would so profit that it could not fail eventually to comply."

In his address to Congress, on April 19, 1951, he stated: "The utter destructiveness of war now blocks out this alternative. We have had our last chance." In the same speech, he had said that once war was forced upon us, ". . . there is no substitute for victory."

MacArthur never brought himself to figure out what makes an enemy force war upon us—the Korean War, for instance. He had no use for limited war, and he had no other alternative to war than total peace. He believed in absolutes, and had no patience for any compromise. The total soldier had no sense of diplomacy. He must have read his Clausewitz, but the political nature of war escaped him. He had the traditional American fondness for absolutes, with one big difference: his fondness was not tempered by tricky pragmatism. He started his military life as the absolute Cadet and ended it as the absolute General.

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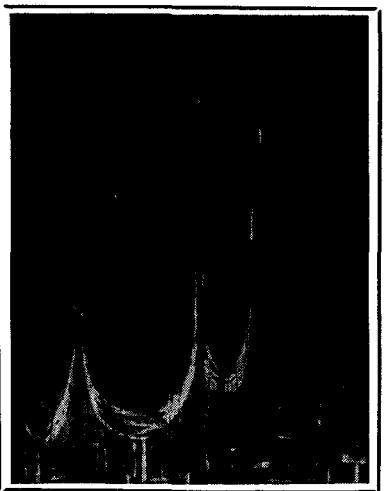

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"IT OCCURS *to us that Chief Justice Warren's remark that the people will not know in their lifetime the meaning of Kennedy's assassination, is consistent with Mr. Warren's position about the meaning of the United States Constitution. Certainly we shall not know during* **his** *lifetime what it means.*"

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dom Schools there. In Jackson, the state capital, city officials not long ago acquired at a price in the vicinity of $20,000 a custom-made vehicle that must rank as one of the most awesome machines ever owned by a community. Proudly called "Thompson's Tank" (for Mayor Allen Thompson), it looks like an elongated armored car. Behind double-thick walls of 12-gauge steel, ten policemen can sit in air-conditioned comfort in two rows of bucket seats. The windows are bulletproof and the engine is encased in steel. In case some civil-righters should be optimistic enough to try to tip it over, jagged extrusions of steel rim the bottom.

Inside, a shotgun is positioned by every seat, together with tear-gas grenades, ammunition, and, as a kind of *Endlösung*, a machine gun. There are portholes just big enough for the gun barrels, and a series of small trapdoors open out of the roof for hurling the grenades. Floodlights adorn the top. The vehicle is painted robin's-egg blue.

It was with considerable anticipation on all sides that Thompson's Tank got its first testing last month. A rock-throwing demonstration broke out near Jackson State College (Negro) in protest over the city's failure to install a traffic light at a dangerous intersection. Things were getting a little rough when, according to a bystander's account, the massive vehicle lumbered out of the mists. Demonstrators drew back while it moved slowly into position. There was a respectful silence as the portholes popped open and gun barrels slid out.

Nobody knows exactly what happened next. Apparently one of the policemen inside accidentally dropped a tear-gas grenade. Soon a thick cloud began to billow from the top of the tank, the door burst open, and the ten occupants rushed out, gasping and coughing.

There were no explanations, but after the air had cleared, the men climbed back inside and the great vehicle headed into town. The demonstrators seemed more bewildered than frightened. Pondering the meaning of this latest manifestation of police power, one of them remarked wistfully, "If only some of us could have gotten hold of that thing, we could have ruled Mississippi."

'For the Sake of Argument'

Mr Humphrey: "The Senator, of course, accepts the verdict of the Supreme Court on that point?"

Mr. Thurmond: "I would not accept the verdict of what the Warren court does—"

Mr. Humphrey: "Would he accept the verdict of the Supreme Court? . . ."

Mr. Thurmond: "That is the Warren court."

Mr. Humphrey: "I am talking about the Supreme Court."

—Congressional Record

Whenever the subject of civil rights comes before the Senate, the quest for unimpeachable authority and semi-eternal verities takes on the quality of a poker game. Let the Southerners cite the wisdom of two former presidents of the American Bar Association in support of their case, and the proponents of civil-rights legislation will come back—as they recently have—with *four* former ABA presidents plus three former Attorneys General, all to no avail. Part of the problem, as we see it, is that although the Northerners generally hold the better cards, the Southerners keep changing the rules in mid-game.

The Supreme Court, for instance, may be cited as a font of Constitutional wisdom, but only up to 1883. After that it becomes suspect, and in its most recent manifestation as the "Warren court" it can no longer be trusted at all. We do not know whether or not a recent dissent by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices Hugo Black and William O. Douglas on behalf of former Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett's right to a jury trial will reinstate the "Warren court" on the Southerners' list of unimpeachable Constitutional sources. But at this point it hardly matters since even the Constitution itself appears to be on the way out as a reliable guide to Constitutionality.

We first became aware of this development when we heard Senator Thurmond propounding the unconstitutionality of the Fourteenth Amendment on the Senate floor a while ago. Only by the most ar-

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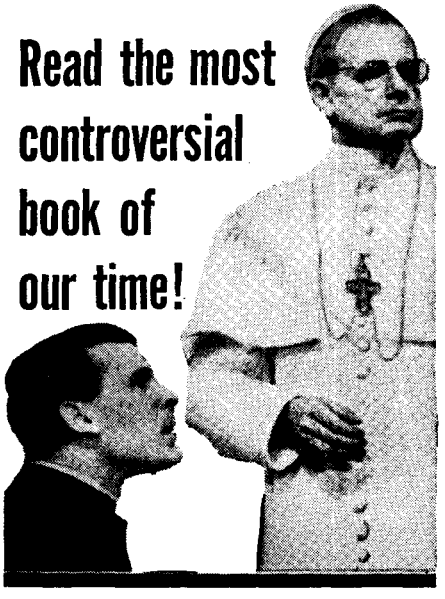

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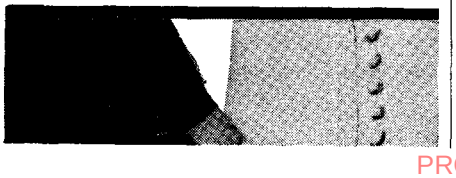

duous effort was Majority Whip Hubert Humphrey able to wring the concession from him that "For the sake of argument I will admit that the Fourteenth Amendment is a part of the Constitution. . . ." If the Constitution cannot be appealed to as defining a citizen's rights, what can? The Declaration of Independence? Don't you believe it. The proposition that "All men are created equal" had already been dismissed by Senator Thurmond as an "illusion."

That leaves God. Or it did. We had fully expected that Senator Thurmond and his Southern colleagues who have so eloquently defended God in the past against the "Warren court" would at least respect *His* laws in these matters. But apparently when it comes to civil rights, nothing is sacred. In rebuttal of Senator Thurmond's attack on the voting provisions of the pending bill, Senator Humphrey revealed that, according to the records, in one of the Southern districts under discussion "132 per cent of the eligible voters are white registrants." That, as Humphrey pointed out, "is thirty-two per cent more than God put on earth."

On, Wisconsin!

It would be pretty bad, they said, if George C. Wallace should get 50,000 or 100,000 votes in the Wisconsin Presidential primary. He got more than 250,000, or nearly twenty-five per cent of the total, and it *was* pretty bad. Nonetheless, Hubert Humphrey called it "an overwhelming victory for civil rights" because seventy-five per cent of the vote had not gone to the Alabama governor. And Wisconsin's Governor John W. Reynolds, who had been Wallace's Democratic opponent, staunchly declared that "The people of Wisconsin have vindicated themselves." The only candidate in the Republican primary, Representative John W. Byrnes, also was pleased. Wallace's vote, he said, was mainly a repudiation of Reynolds and President Johnson, a good thing in itself, and had little to do with civil rights. Goldwater partisans claimed it demonstrated that a conservative tide was sweeping the country. Of course Wallace was pleased, and according to Governor Paul B. Johnson, Jr., of Mississippi, "All Mississippi is thrilled. . . ."

Yet further explanations seemed to be in order. There was a wide gap, after all, between Wisconsin and Alabama. One reporter theorized that Wallace had "turned up a new quality in the human soul" called "benign hatefulness." It could be seen in otherwise gentle men like Harold Olson, running as delegate-at-large for Wallace. Olson couldn't bring himself to fly his flag at half mast when Kennedy was assassinated because he simply thought the President was a traitor. Others explained that Republicans had crossed over and voted for Wallace in the Democratic primary out of spite, or pure mischief, or boredom with their own candidate. The Alabama governor had launched his campaign from McCarthy's home town of Appleton and, along with praise for the departed senator, had spoken of Communist infiltration in the civil-rights movement. It was also understandable that Wallace found favor with real-estate people who had run newspaper ads warning against something called "forced housing."

No one failed to point out that among the culprits who voted for Wallace were the Poles who live in Milwaukee's Fourth District. But during the campaign, much had been made of the fact that Wallace had been quoted, in the London *Times* a year earlier, as telling the British that Southerners were Anglo-Saxon, like them, while the North, in unhappy contrast, was populated with "Poles, Italians, Germans, and other lesser breeds." Furthermore, the proportion of votes for Wallace in the Polish district wasn't a great deal larger than in the state as a whole.

"Before you go on a moral crusade," Wallace told a Negro student during the campaign, "you ought to take a look at one of your Indian reservations." Afterwards it was found that Menomonie County, whose inhabitants are all Indians, had voted unanimously for Wallace. As the New York *Times* put it, "There was no apparent reason for this." That's the thing about prejudice—it defies logical explanation.

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The Secret Life of the A-11

DOUGLASS CATER

THERE WAS a measure of jubilation in certain parts of Washington when President Johnson decided last month to release the secret of the fantastic new airplane known as A-11. This manned craft, whose photograph rather resembles a missile lying on its side, can reportedly fly at more than three times the speed of sound, attain heights above twenty miles, and traverse vast stretches of the earth's surface in a single swoop. As a multipurpose weapon (unlike the U-2, which was essentially a spy plane), it seems likely to delay the time when the military must turn irrevocably to the missile —a weapon which, once fired, cannot be recalled. On such postponements, some experts believe, man's fate could depend.

A more immediate reason for the jubilation was the speed and secrecy with which the A-11 arrived on the scene. Conceived in 1959 and then contracted to Lockheed Aircraft, until the President's announcement the veil of security was held to a degree believed possible only during wartime. Dummy corporations handled the subcontracting, and aviation specialists in the press who became aware of the A-11's existence were persuaded to exercise self-censorship. The plane has reportedly been in operation for more than a year, and by now at least eleven or twelve have been completed at a cost rumored to run as high as $1.5 billion.

Johnson's decision to go ahead with this partial unveiling—the plane and many of its characteristics are still kept tightly guarded—ended a lengthy dispute between Pentagon officials, who favored disclosure, and those in the Central Intelligence Agency who were opposed. A compelling argument was that too many airline pilots had glimpsed the weird monster in flight to keep the secret much longer. But a strong additional motive in the timing of the news release was to beat off efforts in Congress to disregard the administration's defense budget by voting funds for the rich variety of projects for future aircraft boosted by various congressmen. As an immediate consequence, it prompted a House-Senate conference to reject $40 million allocated to the IMI (Improved Manned Interceptor), approved by the House of Representatives against Secretary of Defense McNamara's wishes. The triumph of the A-11 undoubtedly silenced a number of politicians who have been berating McNamara for failure to speed work on new weapons systems.

BUT it has far from ended the griping in Congress. Senator Gordon Allott (R., Colorado), a member of the Defense Appropriations subcommittee, announced angrily in the Senate chamber that there had not been one word about the A-11 during his group's protracted closed-door hearings on the military budget, adding: "I think every American has a right to ask what is going on in this country, when we in the Senate vote for expenditures of the hundreds of millions of dollars involved in the development of an aircraft about which those who have occasion to know seem to know nothing." Frank J. Becker (R., New York), a member of the House Armed Services Committee, attempted unsuccessfully to challenge the conference's deletion of funds for the manned interceptor. "Despite all of the announcements about the A-11 we have no real information on it," he told his colleagues.

Senator John McClellan (D., Arkansas) joined the attack from a slightly different angle. As chairman of the Permanent Investigations subcommittee, McClellan has waged a long war with Pentagon leaders over their decision to award the TFX (tactical fighter, experimental plane) contract to the General Dynamics Corporation rather than to the Boeing Company. McClellan was stirred to new fury by President Johnson's statement that "One of the most important technical achievements of this [A-11] project has been the mastery of the metallurgy and fabrication of titanium metal. . . ." One reason McNamara had cited for rejecting Boeing, McClellan recalled, was that it planned to make extensive use of titanium in its version of the TFX.

Though the agitation in Congress may subside, this episode does raise fundamental questions about the way government conducts the secret and not-so-secret business of defense. Not more than ten members in each house, by one insider's estimate, had been told about the A-11. In each of the two Armed Services Committees, the chairman and the ranking minority member were consulted about which of their colleagues would be informed. Apparently it is committee practice for groups of varying size to be briefed on projects, depending on the degree of secrecy.

An even more delicate problem of consultation lies with the powerful Appropriations Committees, which hold the purse strings. Though procedures are kept secret, it is known that Chairman Clarence Cannon (D., Missouri) of the House committee heads a select subcommittee numbering five members who review the top secret spending. In a recent interview, Cannon, a spry man of eighty-five, refused to describe this group's current activities but willingly reminisced about its origins. During the Second World War, he had chanced to discover $800 million tucked away in various parts of the budget that had not been accounted for. The military officials he queried about this discrepancy refused to discuss it beyond saying that it involved a life-and-death race with the Germans. After considerable soul searching Cannon decided

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to grant these funds and, the following year, an additional billion dollars without receiving a word of explanation. He recalls believing that some sort of death ray was in the works.

But when the third year brought still another huge request, Cannon was adamant. "Enough's enough," he remembers telling the military. Next day, a deputation from the Pentagon arranged for the chairman and four of his colleagues to make a midnight flight to inspect the cause of all this outlay—Oak Ridge. The congressmen were impressed by the vast establishment that had been secreted away in Tennessee, but were greatly disappointed to learn that the end product was to be simply another explosive. "Next day, when we met to vote on the funds, we didn't even look at each other," the old chairman recollects. Only public knowledge of the atomic bombing relieved him of his burden of secrecy.

THIS same subcommittee, with replacements for three of the original five members, monitored the funding of both the U-2 and the A-11. By the accounts of those who have appeared before it, the group is hard-working and gives a painstaking review to these activities kept hidden from other members of Congress. Cannon, who remarks cryptically that he has made only one mistake in his choice of members, professes no qualms about such bypassing of the regular legislative process. He states matter-of-factly that it is a question of how to deal with the enemy. "What makes the Russians a menace is the proclivity of members of Congress to talk about everything they know," he commented.

For a good many members of Congress, it is a question whether the business of defense, even when not clothed in secrecy, has not gone beyond the reach of their traditional review process. It has become too massive and many-sided, too dependent on complex judgments of timing and technology. Congress lacks the expert resources to form a truly independent appraisal of what constitutes adequate military preparedness for the nation. Instead, its members often resort to borrowing specialized knowledge from within and without the Pentagon in seeking to contradict the appraisal reached by the Secretary of Defense and his experts. Subcommittees are apt to ride off on separate hobbyhorses, seldom bothering to reconcile their particular interests with the general defense interest.

The year-long inquest of the McClellan subcommittee into the TFX contract, not yet formally finished, provides a dramatic case study in frustration. Granting certain failures in human relations by McNamara and his deputies, the hearings conducted by the senators have gone beyond all limits of judicious inquiry. They have not produced evidence of either venality or bad judgment that would warrant such a prolonged ordeal. It has become simply a question of who decides. Secretary McNamara, whose original ambition was to save a billion dollars by providing a fighter plane suitable to both Air Force and Navy needs, may well wonder whether it was worth the endless hours of rear-guard action that had to be diverted from management of a defense economy spending a billion dollars a week.

CHAIRMAN MCCLELLAN now threatens to reopen hearings so as to get to the heart of the titanium matter. During an interview conducted outside the Senate chamber as the civil-rights filibuster was getting under way, he asserted that his case against McNamara had not been inspired by animus or self-interest. He would have been quite willing to drop the investigation, he said, if the secretary, instead of resorting to arrogant technical arguments, had pleaded that General Dynamics needed the contract in order to survive. The senator seemed to be claiming that he would have deferred to McNamara's politics but not to his technical competence.

McNamara has had good reasons for his obstinacy. During the latter years of the Eisenhower administration, there was distressing evidence that pressures on the Pentagon were leading to increasingly fragmented decision making. Despite the rigid budget ceilings, there was wasteful proliferation of weapons systems. The ill-fated atomic-plane project, for example, consumed more than a billion dollars without even producing a prototype. Secretary Neil McElroy could beseech a Congressional committee to "hold our feet to the fire" in order to force a choice between two nearly equivalent missile projects. Amid such competition, mainly focused on super war devices, the urgent need for non-nuclear limited-war capabilities was seriously neglected.

Though McNamara has not spared costs in seeking a more balanced military force, he has also felt obliged, his associates point out, to impose strict limits to prevent his defense budget from getting completely out of bounds. This has meant making ruthless choices among the myriad weapons systems of the future. McNamara has also been ruthless in overriding those in the Pentagon who try to sabotage these choices.

Even among the admirers of this first Secretary of Defense to get on top of his job, there is vague disquiet about what lies ahead. There are too many tough decisions of national strategy and purpose to be left to one man or to a small group of men in the Pentagon. As the defense budget levels off, the pressures of special interest are bound to multiply. As technology becomes ever more intricate, secrets like the A-11, making much of the public argument obsolete, will grow in number and variety.

How does Congress play a role? In the past, a few thoughtful men on Capitol Hill—Carl Vinson, Richard Russell, Stuart Symington, Leverett Saltonstall, Leslie Arends, George Mahon, and Gerald Ford, among others—have performed more valuable service in exerting Congressional control of our military program than all the noisy circuses in the style of the McClellan hearings. Theirs has been a quiet, informal review according to what in their judgment was the public interest, though the public was frequently uninformed as to their activity. This has required more use of political wisdom than matching of technological expertise. As the secret life of the A-11 makes clear, the future state of the defense establishment will depend to an even greater degree on the quality of the men who bear this personal burden.

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The Cuban Embargo Myth

PHILIP GEYELIN

BEFORE the "candid re-evaluation of our Cuban policy" called for by Senator J. William Fulbright proceeds much further, a major contribution might be more official candor about the purpose and scope of our attempted economic embargo of Cuba. The critics don't seem to comprehend it, and administration spokesmen—including Secretary of State Dean Rusk, who insists that "economic isolation of Cuba . . . has been very substantial" and effective in reducing free-world trade with Castro's island—have not succeeded in clearing up the prevalent misunderstanding.

Senator Fulbright, in pronouncing the embargo a failure, pictures it entirely in terms of an attempt to "weaken and ultimately bring down" the Castro régime. Yet administration officials have never claimed that the embargo in itself would bring Castro down. Similarly, when the senator derides the government for brandishing the "stuffed club" of threats to withdraw aid from countries trading with Cuba, he implies that the aid cutoff was part of administration policy. Yet this particular club, complete with the stuffing, came unsolicited from Congress in an amendment to last year's foreign-aid appropriations bill, which obliged the President to withhold aid from any country whose ships or aircraft serve Cuba, unless he could show that the national interest would thereby be impaired.

WHEN the White House on February 18 announced the suspension of roughly $7,400 in annual aid to Britain, nobody thought it would have the slightest effect on that country's trade policy. Even as a symbolic punishment, it made little sense. For Britain would have taken the same tap on the wrist if it were not selling busses to Cuba and would have escaped the reprimand if it had shipped the busses on Soviet freighters instead of using its own vessels. Yet such was the State Department's preoccupation with humoring Congress that its official spokesmen were inhibited from putting out an adequate explanation of the move. The idea, presumably, was to keep the administration's skirts clear with Congress. But the effect was to make the U.S. economic war against Cuba look more than ever like a dismal farce.

The strategic concept behind the economic embargo is simple enough: before Castro came to power, all of Cuba's trade was with the West, and most of it with the United States, therefore, a U.S. embargo would disrupt the Cuban economy. This would increase the burden on Russia to keep Cuba afloat economically. It would also diminish the value of Cuba as a Communist showcase in Latin America, and diminish Castro's capacity for mischief-making in the hemisphere. Extending the embargo to cover Cuban trade with other western nations would multiply these problems for Castro and the Communists, and eventually the Castro régime might fall apart under the combined political and economic strains.

Even if none of these arguments has much validity, there would still be a case for an American economic quarantine of Cuba, the administration reasoning goes, because only by such an example can this country encourage Latin lands to reduce their danger of contamination by cutting commercial and other connections with Cuba. "Fulbright wants to stop the embargo and turn the Cuban problem over to the OAS," one U.S. policymaker commented. "But if you end the embargo, the OAS would take that as an invitation to dismantle the few anti-Castro defenses it has managed to erect."

All American

In the absence of any feasible policy that promises a neat, safe end to the Castro menace, there is a high premium both in Congress and the Executive branch on making whatever is done look tougher and more decisive than it really is.

There is not, and never has been, anything remotely resembling a western "embargo" on Cuban trade. There is a strictly United States embargo which began under President Eisenhower in October, 1960, with a ban on all U.S. exports to Cuba except food and medicine. In February, 1962, on the heels of a foreign ministers' meeting of the OAS, the Kennedy administration tightened the screws a notch further by shutting off U.S. imports of Cuban goods—by that time mainly tobacco. The move was a logical consequence of the rather feeble action taken by the OAS ministers banning arms shipments to Cuba but asking only a voluntary cutoff of commercial trade. Though Latin trade with Cuba was negligible to begin with, it is perhaps worth noting as a measure of OAS zeal for combating Castro that our decision to do without Cuban cigars inspired no voluntary embargo in the hemisphere; the trickle of Latin trade with Cuba continues.

Still, the OAS did exclude Cuba from membership, denounce Communist encroachment in the hemisphere, and adopt a few mild countersubversion measures. Heartened by these testimonials of Latin-American anxiety, State Department Counselor Walt W. Rostow flew to Paris and persuaded NATO members to put Cuba on the list of Communist countries to which strategic materials should not be shipped. But Rostow extracted no promise of broader trade sanctions, and in fact received the impression that our NATO allies definitely would not participate in a general cutoff of commercial trade to Cuba. In an effort to impede such trade, the United States thereupon set out to spin, from its own example and from rather thin legal authority both here and in foreign countries, the widest possible web of restraints on all contacts with Cuba. A campaign largely based on diplomatic pressure was launched against western ship and air traffic to Cuba. It was backed up with a series of measures to deny U.S. government cargo, bunkering, and other port facilities in this country to all vessels of any shipowner who permits any of his ships to call at Cuban ports.

From all this, officials can claim some substantial gains. Last year

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there was a sixty per cent drop in the number of calls by free-world ships on Cuban ports. Greece, Britain, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Norway are among the maritime nations that have issued decrees, passed legislation, or engaged in backstage persuasion to discourage ships of their flags from plying Cuban trade routes. Western air links have been clipped, except one flight a week by Iberia Air Lines of Spain. At U.S. urging, many Latin-American countries have moved to inhibit travel to and from Cuba; U.S. officials estimate the result has been a fifty per cent drop in Latin-American travel to and from Cuba in the past two years.

The Sweetness of Sugar

The situation is different in non-strategic trade. Quantitatively, it is not yet very significant. The deals for British busses and French and Spanish trucks total little more than $25 million, spread over the next several years. Their effect would be a modest lift in Cuban trade with the non-Communist world, while still leaving it far below pre-Castro levels. In 1958, Cuban imports amounted to $857 million, mostly from Western Europe, Japan, and the United States, with nothing worth mentioning from the Communist bloc. Excluding the huge U.S. contribution ($602 million), Cuban imports from nations allied with the United States came to about $140 million; last year Cuban imports from the same nations added up to about $50 million. More important, British sales to Cuba ($29 million in 1958 and $47 million in 1959) skidded to $23 million in 1960, $15 million in 1961, and $8 million in each of the last two years. Most U.S. allies have matched this trend.

In its zeal to show a positive gain in the battle against Castro, the Executive branch has tended to picture this trend as a triumph for U.S. diplomacy. The impression of a comradely allied "embargo" was created. Not surprisingly, therefore, the recently announced European transactions with Cuba seemed to be acts of allied perfidy, breaking this "embargo."

The truth is that the downtrend in western trade with Cuba was almost entirely attributable to Castro's poverty: he had tied up his exchange-earning sugar crop almost completely in barter arrangements with the Soviet bloc. And the chief reason U.S. allies now are again selling to Cuba has almost nothing to do with the state of the alliance or a shift in allied thinking about the Cuban menace or with U.S. influence in the world. It has to do with the price of sugar, which is sky-high thanks to a world-wide shortage, and to the fact that as a result Fidel Castro now has some hard cash in hand.

Paradoxically, Communist mismanagement and bad weather have made Castro relatively rich; last year's Cuban sugar crop came to a meager 3.8 million metric tons, the lowest in recent decades and well under the 1957-1959 annual average of about 5.8 million tons. Instead of bankrupting the island, however, the effect was to aggravate a global short-

age that sent prices shooting up to eight cents a pound or more from the three-cent level prevailing only a few years ago. This by itself offset the total earnings loss the Cubans might have expected from their short crop. More important, it obliged Western Europeans and others to buy much more Cuban sugar than usual to meet their needs, thus pouring badly needed hard currencies into the Cuban treasury.

This is the cause of the current rash of European sales to Cuba: it is a standard trading practice to seek to balance bilateral accounts, especially in Britain, where the pound sterling is never entirely free of external strain.

IN THE FACE of these economic facts of life, the U.S. had two choices. It could sit tight in hopes that sugar-growing countries would react to the shortages by planting more cane, bringing prices down and stemming the flow of hard money to Cuba. Some experts think this will happen; but because sugar cane grows slowly, the effect may not be noticeable for at least a year. Or the administration could browbeat U.S. allies for trading with the enemy, either in hopes of actually being heeded or simply because a display of outrage was the safest political course domestically. The decision was to do the latter.

The wrist-slapping given the British by the Johnson administration only served to put a poor perspective on an insoluble Anglo-American quarrel, to dramatize American inability to erect a really effective western boycott, and to give that much more comfort and an air of permanence to Fidel Castro.

Still less helpful was all the subsequent talk about a private consumers' boycott of foreign firms doing business with Castro. It started innocently enough in a seemingly offhand answer by Secretary Rusk to a briefing for foreign correspondents at which the analogy was drawn, at least indirectly, with an alleged U.S. consumer reaction against Polish hams. But when Rusk, again in response to a question, gave public airing to the topic in a Voice of America broadcast, it became impossible, even with official State Department denials, to convince foreign skeptics that the government wasn't flashing a rather unsubtle wink to U.S. consumers. Such a policy not only put this country in sharp conflict with its oft-stated antipathy to consumer boycotts but once again served to underscore its impotency to handle the problem by more direct and forceful means.

PERHAPS the most unfortunate result of all these maneuvers is that public opinion against this country's allies becomes senselessly inflamed. Congressmen lash out at what they call an unprincipled yearning by the British and others for a "fast buck," conveniently forgetting that some five hundred million fast bucks were almost the only justification offered by the administration for authorizing wheat sales to Russia, which is also engaged in rather extensive efforts to undermine U.S. interests and influence in this hemisphere.

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Aid to Education: A Better Deal

WILLIAM LEE MILLER

DURING Holy Week, President Johnson made a statement to a visiting group of Southern Baptists that combined rather homey references to the "grace that I had learned at my Baptist mother's knee" with a social analysis of a sophistication not often found in discourses of that character. "Your people are part of the power structure in many communities," he told the white Southern preachers. "The leaders of states and cities and towns are in your congregations and they sit there on your board. Their attitudes are confirmed or changed by the sermons you preach and by the lessons you write and by the examples that you set."

Probably no President has ever asked for religious social action in such specific terms as Mr. Johnson did when he asked the Baptists, "Help us to pass this Civil Rights bill." Bill Moyers, the President's young adviser who is a Southern Baptist minister himself, observed the next day that only a Southern President could have said what Mr. Johnson said to his visitors. Mr. Kennedy certainly couldn't have.

To be sure, even Mr. Johnson was criticized in some quarters for asking ministers to use their pulpits for political purposes, but the President's action clearly demonstrated that this aspect of the "wall of separation" between church and state does not amount to much. What it boils down to is that people favor religious social action for causes they believe in and oppose it for causes they don't. The President's matter-of-fact acceptance of this situation is surely a healthy sign. And there are indications that more realism on other aspects of church-state relations may also be expected during the administration of this Texas Protestant. There have even been some signs of cracks in the wall that supposedly shuts out all Federal financial support to religious institutions and actually sets up roadblocks in the path of things we badly need to do. Thus, education bills have regularly been blocked by doctrinaire positions on the so-called "religious issue."

THAT IS NOT the whole story of school bills, of course. Segregation battles are a part of it; the formulas for giving money to the states have caused trouble; and most important, underneath it all there has been a fundamental conservative opposition to any sort of spending, especially for schools. But the church-state issue, either in its own right or as a smoke screen for these others, has regularly served as the No. 1 obstacle when it came right down to Congressional action.

Moreover, to the passions normally aroused by religion, the education bills add Our Schools, Our Youth, Our Nation's Future. And to top it all off, these issues also involve what might be called our overconstitutionalism. A delicate matter of public policy is fought out not in terms of the values and interests themselves but of opposing absolute interpretations of a cryptic 173-year-old phrase, with much about Founding Fathers, precedents, camels' noses, and opening wedges. The whole field is a lawyers' paradise, full of distinctions and further refinements, none of which stay put and all of which are subject to many interpretations. Thus every man may be his own Constitutional lawyer, and every lawyer may have his own distinction as to what is Constitutional and what is not. Dicta in majority opinions of the Supreme Court have held both that "The wall . . . must be kept high and impregnable; we could not uphold the slightest breach," and that "The First Amendment, however, does not say that in every and all respects there shall be a separation of church and state." The court spoke much, in an earlier phase, of the "wall" (more recently of "neutrality") and has consistently spoken against state "aid" to religion, even if given impartially. But it has also allowed tax funds for bus rides and (earlier) for textbooks, and has upheld state "accommodation" of religion. The Kennedy administration and the National Catholic Welfare Conference both presented briefs showing that what they wanted to do was Constitutional; lawyers and organizations diverge widely and, generally speaking, seem to mix policy desires and Constitutional interpretation.

One may distinguish, as the Kennedy administration did, higher education from lower: some tax aid to Notre Dame is O.K., but that to St. Mary's High School is not. One may distinguish, as the post-Sputnik defense bill did, between loans and grants, the former now being given, in certain presumably missile-producing and defense-helping fields, to religious schools. One may distinguish, as both the post-Sputnik bill and the final version of the new higher-education bill did, between "across-the-board" help and "categorical" help—that is, aid not to the

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religious colleges as such but to specific "secular" items. (At the graduate-school level, however, "across-the-board" aid is allowed; it would seem that the higher you go in education the easier it is to breach that wall.) I do not mean to be altogether disdainful of these distinction-drawings, since in the end, disagreeing both with the Catholic bishops and with the absolute separationists, I would have to draw some myself. But I do hold that the primary questions ought to be those of public policy, and that the Constitutional matter should be separated and clarified. The lack of clarity in the Constitutional situation and the invocation of absolute principle in the Constitutional debate have interfered seriously with needed educational legislation. As Representative Edith Green has said, the adults get an education in Constitutional law but the education of the young is not advanced.

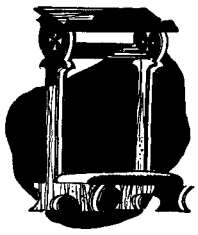
Mr. Republican's Conversion

Congress has been considering bills to aid primary and secondary schools since the time of President Grant—and one could go back further than that. Just take the period since the Second World War. As long ago as 1946, as conservative a man as Senator Taft was persuaded by the evidence given in Senate hearings that the schools needed Federal help. He changed his view, which had been opposed to Federal aid to education, and joined in sponsoring a $250-million-a-year permanent program. He explained that testimony had convinced him that in poor states many children were not receiving an adequate education, even though the states were doing all they could and spending as much proportionately as the wealthy states. He argued that the Federal government should provide a floor, a minimum, in such a matter for children everywhere in the country.

And since Taft's conversion, the need he saw has grown. All the articles on the subject cite our failure to build schools through depression and war, the great "baby boom," the awe-inspiring statistics about huge and growing inflows of pupils and students, the paucity of teachers' salaries, the inability of poor states and districts to meet the need, the inadequacy and unfairness of the property tax as a source of funds, the severe limits on local and state resources. Throughout the 1950's, both major political parties were nominally committed to Federal aid. And yet, despite all the years and all the efforts, all the hearings and all the bills, the major bill on Federal aid to the schools still has not been passed. Almost twenty years later we still have not enacted the program that even Senator Taft thought necessary in 1946.

And why not? Robert Bendiner, in a good book just published called *Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill* (McGraw-Hill, $4.95), tells the story. It cannot be read, at least by me, without much boiling of blood. Bendiner's purpose is to show how difficult it is to pass, how easy to block, legislation in Congress; he uses the sad story of Federal aid to education as his example. Though Bendiner makes his case thumpingly against the Congressional obstacle course, it is also apparent that behind that obstacle course, and using it, are doctrinaire pressure-group positions on the religious issue, and behind *them,* perhaps using them, are the people who don't want to support schools anyway.

That Taft bill ran aground back in 1949-1950 in the first big religious fight, over the so-called Barden



amendment, which restricted Federal aid to tax-supported schools. This battle inspired the most famous example of Cardinal Spellman's excommunicatory political style, when he said that a statement by Mrs. Roosevelt (who endorsed the Barden position) was unworthy of an American mother. After this bruising battle, the Federal-aid bills languished through the Korean War and the Eisenhower doldrums. The Eisenhower administration, rather characteristically, was sort of more or less somewhat conservatively progressively in favor of Federal aid in principle, but not too much and mostly by loans to the states; it proposed inadequate bills and then didn't fight for them. With Kennedy at the helm, new hope for Federal aid sailed forth, only to be dashed once again on the church-state rocks. His bill passed the Senate but never came to a vote in the House. Representative James J. Delaney of Queens in New York, a Catholic and a representative of a district filled with Catholics, voted not to let the bill out of the Rules Committee, since it did not include aid to parochial schools.

DURING the years since the Barden battle, the parochial-school position has hardened. In those days, supporters of parochial schools did not ask for general aid but only fringe benefits, and some Catholic spokesmen were saying that they didn't even want broad public funds, which would bring problems about government control. But by the time of the 1961 battle with the Kennedy administration, the position of the Catholic bishops had become monolithic and demanding: include across-the-board aid to Catholic schools, or we will oppose any Federal-aid bill as "discrimination." Cardinal Spellman, whose political style has not deteriorated through the years, said the Kennedy bill was a "dagger aimed at our hearts." The Catholic bishops issued a statement —an ultimatum, really—insisting that low-interest loans to private schools be included, or else they would oppose any Federal-aid bill. After the administration brief was issued holding loans as well as outright grants to be unconstitutional, Catholic spokesmen raised their sights and insisted on grants; since loans were regarded as equally dubious in Constitutional terms, they explained bluntly, they might as well go the whole way.

The bishops' 1961 position—let us have our way or you get nothing —does not present an appealing picture. But there is no getting around the fact that Catholic schools are in real need, and their supporters understandably feel that Federal help to public schools alone would make their position—in hiring teachers, for example—worse than ever. Earlier Catholic positions were more

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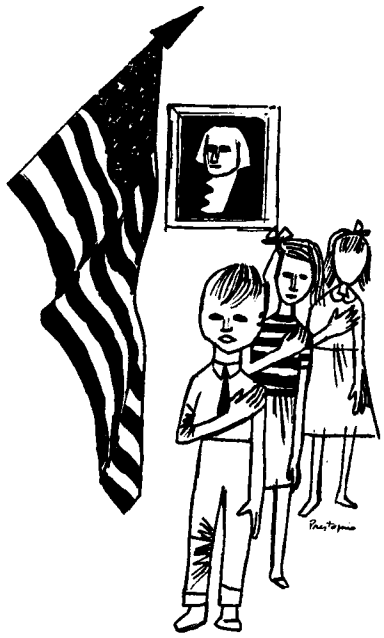
flexible, and the original absolutism, often with a distinct anti-Catholic flavor, came from the other side. From the Barden amendment disallowing even fringe benefits to Catholic schools, in 1949, down to the National Education Association's telegram campaign that defeated the higher-education bill in 1962 because religious colleges were included, the doctrinaire separationists have played a big part in killing Federal aid to schools. As on so many matters, there is here a pair of mutually provocaitive extremist positions, and Protestants (together with Others) have more than held up their end.

How Poverty Can Help

Is this sad history about to come, at last, to a happier ending? Maybe, but not soon, or yet clearly. Federal aid to the lower schools, since the 1961 defeat, has been in a moribund state. On previous occasions the bill was still alive, and the proponents, like Brooklyn Dodger fans, kept recovering from defeat with a wait-till-next-year eagerness. But not any more. Of course, other education acts have been passed—those for higher education and vocational education. And some new glimmers of hope have appeared—the anti-poverty bill and shared time. And one other aspect, of the greatest importance, has changed since 1961—the religion of the President.

Theodore Sorensen wrote in his Columbia lectures, while Kennedy and he were still in the White House: ". . . while it should not be impossible to find an equitable constitutional formula to settle the church-school aid problem, it is difficult for that formula to be suggested by the Nation's first Catholic President." Now we have, instead, the nation's first modern Southern President—a Texan who learned a grace at his mother's knee. He has no problem of identification with Baptists, Southerners, country folk, or Protestants, and he was not forced to make specific commitments in Houston against aid to parochial schools. As he can talk plainly to Southern Baptist ministers about civil rights, so he could speak plainly about schools, including Catholic schools. However, he isn't likely (just now, at any rate) to propose, head-on, any "formula" for "settling" that problem. What Mr. Johnson has done, in effect, is not to make a direct attack on the matter but an indirect one through the anti-poverty program.

Mr. Johnson's war on poverty has other origins and other reasons for being, of course, but it is in very important part an education measure—to the point that some have asked whether it is Federal aid to education by the back door. As much as $300 million in this first year's $1 billion (if the program passes intact) could go to schools. And there are educational aspects in much of the program—three-fourths of it, according to one high official. One could say that the bill represents yet another example of the



distorted effects of our failure to pass a more direct and rational educational bill; having failed to teach children to read at six, we must have programs to teach them to read at sixteen. Some critics of the anti-poverty bill say that in concentrating on the 16-21 age group, it not only neglects the poor who are old but also the poor who are school youngsters. But maybe not. Perhaps a major part of the "community action" section of the bill will go to schools.

One wishes that through these last twenty years there had been a clear commitment to quality in education that would have subordinated the doctrinaire and pressure-group positions. The President may now have provided a substitute commitment under his "anti-poverty" banner. It may give a new focus that will allow people to rearrange their old positions or make them do it, and may open new possibilities. Let us have an all-out war against poverty, he says. If eliminating poverty requires aid to schools, fine. Who can object if aid-to-schools-to-eliminate-poverty includes some participation by religious organizations and schools?

At the House hearings on the anti-poverty bill, a Republican congressman from the Lake Chautauqua region of New York, Charles Goodell, asked the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare whether the bill prohibited religious organizations from receiving any of the community-action funds. Secretary Celebrezze gave a complicated answer, and Goodell charged that he was "admitting" that there was no such prohibition; the exchange then went into what the committee's chairman called a "shouting contest." The next day Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz told the same committee that there was no objection to writing into the "community action" section of the bill the same prohibition against public funds going to religious schools that appears in the education section. When I saw Goodell the next week, he was still not satisfied; he said funds still might go to religious youth organizations and the like. Goodell does not have the reputation of being a strict separationist; he worked hard for the House version of the higher-education bill that allowed across-the-board aid to private colleges. But when I saw him, he was talking darkly about "erosion" of the "principle." One hopes he is not casting himself in ex-Congressman Barden's role.

Catholic spokesmen, in contrast, have not criticized the anti-poverty bill. Along with provisions that education funds go to public agencies and that no such agency be supported while building a church, there is also a specific provision that no one be denied poverty-plan services because he goes to a private school. Tutoring, guidance counseling, "lighted schoolhouse" programs

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for after-hours study in the school, and other such programs would of course be available to parochial-school students. But if Catholic spokesmen have no objection to the poverty bill, neither do they regard it as a substitute for aid to their schools.

In his White House office not long ago, Moyers remarked that the program tries to use the pluralism of the American communities, rather than to be pulled apart by it. The President wanted to start with the problem, with the purpose, and only later to look at the pressure groups, rather than to look at those first. In the community-action program, communities will come up with local plans aimed at eliminating poverty. The various groups in the community will have to work together to do that, and many variations are possible. Although tax funds could not go directly to the budget of a religious agency, such agencies—charitable groups, for example—may participate in the plan of a local anti-poverty agency to which funds are given. Thus the communities are pressed to make their own plans, their own arrangements between public and private agencies, their own reconciliations among the groups.

Something for Everybody

The idea of shared time—or rather dual enrollment, as it is now increasingly called—offers one other interesting possibility. Chairman Adam Clayton Powell of the House Education and Labor Committee came across a news-magazine story about the shared-time plan, in which parochial-school students take part of their work at public schools—and it struck him that it might hold a solution to the puzzle of American education. Others, perhaps from more diligent inquiry, have felt the same for some time. Several American cities, notably Hartford and Pittsburgh, have had such arrangements, in a minor way, for many years. In February, Powell's committee held hearings on a bill that would provide Federal money to a few districts, on an experimental basis, to try out such programs on a broader scale. Its proponents argue that it holds something for everybody: Catholics would be relieved of the expense of gyms, laboratories, and other facilities for expensive but neutral subjects, which their students would take at the public schools; public schools, now including parochial-school students part time, would presumably receive broader community support; Protestants and Jews who wanted to might devise religious training programs to fit into the plan, too. There are objections, mainly having to do with administrative difficulties, and those who thought dual enrollment might help get a general Federal-aid bill passed were disappointed when Monsignor Frederick G. Hochwalt testified for the National Catholic Welfare Conference that though the program looked like a promising experiment, its passage would not change his organization's position on Federal aid. But even without any such help toward a general-aid bill, the dual-enrollment idea may offer a way to help schools. If the first experiments work, then districts all across the country could be given money to build facilities, in the designated categories, to take care of the influx of part-time parochial-school students.

Does all this mean that interfaith "religious issues" are being worked out more sensibly these days? I had thought so, what with ecumenism and dialogue all over the place. A highly placed Washingtonian, a Catholic, says no. All that "dialogue" is for intellectuals, according to him, and in practical politics one can't do things now that one could before—in the G.I. bill, for example, which even paid for students in seminaries.

But the majority view is not so negative. Moyers, for an important example, says that since the late 1950's there has been a deep undercurrent of new agreements working themselves out among responsible leaders, a new spirit overcoming these ancient "principled" barriers. It was set back by political pressures, through no fault of his own, under President Kennedy; his religious affiliation heightened sensitivities. Now, however, with a President who can talk turkey to the Baptists, that healing spirit is at work again. One devoutly hopes that Moyers is right, and that some day soon the nation's schoolchildren will at last begin to feel its benefits.

Is This the Year For Medicare?

PAUL DUKE and STANLEY MEISLER

AN OLD FRIEND, encountering Representative Wilbur D. Mills in a Washington restaurant recently, reached out and squeezed the Arkansas congressman's arm. "Does it feel sore?" he asked. Mills showed a trace of a smile. "I haven't felt anything yet," he replied.

Behind the jest was a serious issue: whether Lyndon B. Johnson, for all his Congressional arm-twisting, can persuade Mills to accept the principle of medical care for the aged financed through Social Security or a similar payroll-tax plan. This would represent a breakthrough for Medicare supporters, and might just be enough to send the program through Congress this year. There are many reasons why Medicare has never been approved, but the main obstacle has been Mills. As chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, where all Social Security and tax bills must originate, Mills has blocked a bill from the House floor for seven years.

Although Mills has repeatedly turned aside administration pleas, there have been recent reports, perhaps based more on hope than on substance, that his opposition to the Social Security approach of the King-Anderson Medicare bill is softening. Some of his colleagues hope Mills is now willing to consider a

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compromise package that would include a modified version of the hospitalization insurance proposed in the Medicare bill. During the Senate-House conferences on the tax-reduction bill in late February, Mills stepped out of those important and complicated sessions to confer with Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Wilbur Cohen about a possible compromise between Medicare and the Kerr-Mills plan, which now offers Federal funds to state medical programs for the needy aged. A switch by Chairman Mills could sway enough votes to assure committee endorsement of a bill. "I wouldn't care if we had nearly every vote already," says one administration official. "The only vote that really counts on that committee is the one belonging to Wilbur Mills."

The Johnson administration would like to have a bill this election year so that Democratic candidates could point to the delivery of a principal campaign promise of 1960 and 1962. Should the bill stay sidetracked, Medicare will be a questionable campaign issue and perhaps even be useless. "We can hardly make a lot of new promises when we've failed to come through during these four years," a White House aide confided.

Some administration officials think that President Johnson himself needs a Medicare bill to dispel the nagging doubts of Northern Democrats and union members about Johnson's liberal credentials. If Congress passed Medicare, Johnson could head into the campaign having launched one important new program (the war on poverty), fought vigorously for one that President Kennedy began (civil rights), and accomplished another (Medicare) that Kennedy couldn't even move.

Gaps in the Stopgaps

Would Mills be inclined to do all he could to assure the election of fellow Southerner Johnson? Those who answer "Yes" say their conclusions are the more valid in the light of recent changes in the Arkansas political map. When the legislature redistricted the state two years ago, it extended Mills's conservative-rural district to include the city of Little Rock. This enabled labor forces in Little Rock to petition Mills for greater consideration to Medicare and less to the opposing pleas of doctors in the rural sections of the district.

Some observers also believe Mills is more amenable to compromise this year because of the failure of other efforts, including his own, to provide satisfactory health care for the elderly. Some of his associates suspect that Mills is no longer so sold on the Kerr-Mills Act, which he and the late Senator Robert Kerr (D., Oklahoma) engineered as a stop-Medicare move in 1960. The Kerr-Mills program had two strikes against it from the start: the slowness of states to join up and the widespread disparity in eligibility standards among the states that are participating. Only thirty-two states provide Kerr-Mills assistance, and some of them offer little more than token sums. Moreover, five of the wealthy states—California, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Michigan—receive eighty-three per cent of the Federal allotments simply because they are willing to put up a greater share of state monies. New York, with ten per cent of the nation's aged, receives thirty-five per cent of the Federal funds.

When the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reported in 1962 that comparatively few of the nation's older citizens were benefiting from the Kerr-Mills program, its supporters demanded more time to make it work. Now some of them concede that the program may never work unless there are more Federal controls and more Federal funds. Only Hawaii, Massachusetts, New York, and North Dakota have plans that meet HEW's definition of a comprehensive health program. Administrative costs have swollen because of the cumbersome procedures required for certifying that persons are poor enough to get the aid. In Tennessee, for example, administrative costs rose to fifty-nine cents of every dollar spent for medical assistance. The stiff eligibility rules—in most states a person's resources must be depleted to the poverty point—have limited participation and kept out many persons with incomes above $1,200 a year. The biggest criticism of Kerr-Mills, however, is that it approaches the health-care problem from the wrong direction. What is needed, the critics insist, is not a program that helps people after they become destitute, but one that prevents them from becoming destitute.

Despite spirited tries in recent years, commercial insurance has failed to fill the health-care gap, although it is true that more old people carry some kind of health insurance than ever before. Some estimates put the coverage at sixty per cent of those over sixty-five. Yet the number of persons without protection is nearly as large as it was five years ago. Many policies provide only limited benefits—typically a hospital room-and-board allowance of $10 a day, or about half the average charge. Policyholders frequently find that they must pay fifty to eighty per cent of their hospital bills themselves.

Because of substantial losses, a number of underwriters have been forced recently to seek either increased rates for special elderly insurance plans or a reduction in benefits. The Chicago Blue Cross recently cut its benefits more than twenty-five per cent to nongroup subscribers, most of them over sixty-five, and the Continental Casualty Company, which unveiled a "Golden 65" plan with some fanfare two years ago, had to increase its rates sharply in all of the states this year. This experience may explain why many companies are wary of entering the field. No company is going to pay out more in benefits than it collects in premiums. "The best that private insurance has been able to do to solve the dilemma of high costs and low income," Secretary Anthony Celebrezze has said, "is to offer either low-cost policies with inadequate protection or more adequate policies that are priced out of the reach of most of the aged."

What Will Wilbur Do?

But the mounting logic for Medicare cannot in itself be a basis for counting on support from Mills, who is one of the most unpredictable men in Congress. "He'll tell you one thing in the morning and do the opposite in the afternoon," one veteran member of the Ways and Means Committee remarked recently.

Some Medicare supporters believe

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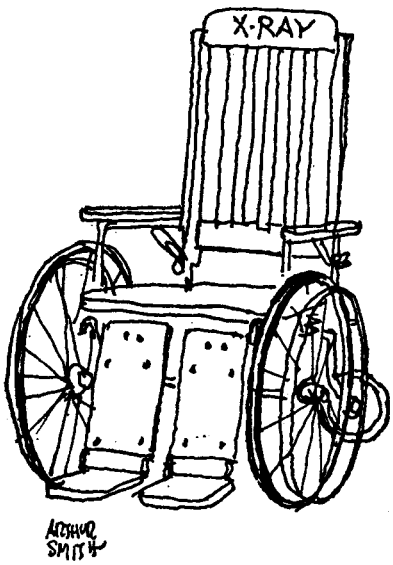
Mills can be swayed less by logic than by the knowledge that his committee's minority for Medicare may grow. White House strategists now believe that they can count on twelve votes, one less than a majority, for some kind of Medicare. Mills has earned his reputation in Congress by always sensing the mood of his committee and finding the precise point on which most of the divergent Democratic views can coalesce, or at least balance. If Mills, influential and persuasive as he is, feels that a near majority of the committee wants some form of hospital insurance as the only way to meet the health problems of the aged, he may agree to support some limited form of Medicare. This, in fact, is a major hope of the Johnson administration.

But it is just as conceivable that Mills will rebel at the latest overtures to enlist his co-operation. A reporter who visited Mills recently found him miffed at the rumors of his pending capitulation. He insisted that the reports were inspired by overzealous HEW officials anxious to put him on the spot. The assumption that Mills is ready to give Johnson a political boost could be unwarranted. At least one theory maintains that Mills, a Harvard man, enjoyed greater rapport with Kennedy, for whom he performed nobly on trade and tax matters. Certainly the two had a mutual admiration—so much so that before Kennedy's death there were rumors that Mills might be offered the next Supreme Court vacancy—a move that would have had the collateral advantage of removing Mills as an obstacle to Medicare.

Mills has long maintained in public that Medicare would abuse the principles of the Social Security System. Under the old-age and disability benefits programs, fixed sums of money are paid out. The theory is a simple one: the money replaces part of the earnings lost by a worker when he retires or becomes disabled. But Medicare would introduce a new principle of giving services, no matter what their cost. It is this concept that bothers Mills, who has a deep commitment to Social Security. He is suspicious of Medicare because this change would be a radical one and would lead to greater Social Security taxes. During hearings last November, Mills concentrated on the cost estimates of administration witnesses, making it plain that he believed the King-Anderson provision of a one-half of one per cent tax increase would be insufficient to finance the program. He said the administration had failed to anticipate steadily rising hospital costs. To be actuarially sound, he indicated that a full one per cent increase would be needed.

THE DRIVE for Medicare could be caught in a crossfire of concern about costs and of demands for more retirement benefits. Many congressmen are challenging the adequacy of the current maximum $127 monthly Social Security payments in the light of the 6.9 per cent cost-of-living increase since they were set in 1958. In this election year, pressure to enlarge an existing Social Security program could offset demands for a new kind of program. Or the Medicare bill might be scaled down so far as to produce disappointment and resentment. "If we have to dehydrate the bill to get Mills's neutrality, we might be better off with nothing," a White House assistant argued.



Most advocates of Medicare have already abandoned hope of obtaining the hospitalization, nursing, and home-care benefits originally sought. The Social Security principle has now become all-important, and some supporters would be content to accept a lame version in hopes of vitalizing the program in future years. Some think that the administration might have built an acceptable compromise around a proposal made in 1962 by Representative Burr P. Harrison (D., Virginia). Then a conservative member of Ways and Means, Harrison agreed to support a Social Security plan that provided benefits only for long-term illnesses. With administration endorsement, the Harrison compromise might have cleared Ways and Means and perhaps even Congress. But it was rejected by HEW Secretary Abraham Ribicoff, who threw the administration's support behind a revised version of King-Anderson that was advocated by Senator Jacob Javits (R., New York).

The Medicare campaign has been hampered by its diffuse leadership and by a lack of unity in the ranks. Unions and senior citizens' clubs have been the prime outside pushers, but their efforts have not always been well co-ordinated. Representative Aime J. Forand (D., Rhode Island), the original chief sponsor in Ways and Means, and now Representative Cecil R. King (D., California) have not distinguished themselves as the bills's captains. "They need a bulldog like Gene Keogh who keeps punching away all the time," an opponent said, alluding to Representative Eugene Keogh (D., New York), whose efforts for many years in the committee once led to Congressional approval of a bill to liberalize certain taxes for self-employed persons.

Intramural bickering between HEW Under Secretary Ivan Nestingen and Assistant Secretary Cohen has not helped. Cohen, one of the nation's foremost authorities on Social Security, was in command of Medicare strategy until 1962, when the Senate rejected 52-48 a compromise Medicare measure sponsored by Senator Clinton Anderson (D., New Mexico). Rightly or wrongly, the White House blamed Cohen for misjudging the Senate temper, and gave Nestingen greater responsibility to direct strategy. Cohen, however, has continued to work closely with Mills and other members of Ways and Means on Social Security legislation, and it is uncertain who has the final word. One thing is apparent: the two officials don't always see eye to eye, and, according to HEW insiders, there have been some spirited clashes.

By far the most serious obstacle

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has been the well-organized, well-financed opposition campaign of the American Medical Association. While it has relied primarily on scare tactics, the doctors' lobby has shown considerable ingenuity in fighting Medicare. Dossiers about members of Congress are kept on file, and attempts are made to sway the legislators through their personal physicians. Questionnaires sent out to doctors across the country have sought the names of principal contributors to political campaigns. One of the main witnesses at hearings held by Ways and Means in 1959 was Dr. R. B. Robins of Camden, Arkansas, an AMA trustee—and a personal friend of Mills.

The AMA's New Line

But the AMA has undergone one noticeable shift in emphasis. Until the past year or so, its principal pitch was the familiar refrain about socialized medicine and government controls. Now, AMA stresses Medicare's potential costs and rise in payroll taxes that would occur. "Why should everyone over sixty-five get hospitalization at the expense of wage earners just because a few need help?" asked Dr. Edward R. Annis, the president of AMA, last month. "Why should the workers of America be forced to pay higher taxes for hospitalization for everyone over sixty-five, many of whom are wealthy and millions of whom have health insurance—just because they've had a birthday?"

One of the AMA's techniques led to an embarrassing $400,000 damage suit late last year. Paul Normile, a member of the executive board of the United Steelworkers, filed the suit charging that the AMA's political arm, the American Medical Political Action Committee, was distributing a phonograph record that supposedly was a transcription of a speech by Normile. Normile said the voice was not his. At one point on the record a tough-talking unionist demands that each member contribute a dollar for COPE, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education. "For those that don't want to give," the unionist says, "you shop stewards can always let them know there is still a graveyard shift. They'll kick in."

The unionist says the money is needed "to help Joe [Senator Joseph S. Clark, D., Pennsylvania] push his Medicare bill in the Senate." When Normile filed his suit and charged that the record was a phony, the AMA agreed to discontinue distribution of the record pending the outcome of the suit. In a deposition filed with the U.S. District Court in Washington, Walter Hughes, executive director of the Pennsylvania branch of the AMPAC, explained that a man named "Irv" had put him in touch with a man called "Cousin," who had sold him a tape recording of a meeting that "Cousin" said "would be very interesting to medicine." Hughes said he paid $20 for it.

Whatever the impact of these latest machinations, the medical lobby has already succeeded in confusing the issues and raising doubts. Support seems to have diminished as voters discover that adoption of a government-insurance program will mean smaller pay checks. Senator William Proxmire (D., Wisconsin), a Medicare supporter, found that approval of the bill in a survey of Wisconsin voters dropped from sixty per cent in 1961 to forty-nine per cent last year. And Representative Page Belcher (R., Oklahoma) was amazed to find that foreign aid was less unpopular than Medicare with his rural constituents. Supporters generally concede that Medicare has lost some of its political punch, and a few insist that Johnson doesn't even need it in November. "There is no great national groundswell for this legislation," one prominent House Democrat has argued. "The war on poverty will give Johnson his campaign issue."

Sooner or Later

But if Wilbur Mills succumbs—and that of course is a big "if"—the anti-Medicare forces almost surely will disperse. With Mills in charge, the bill, despite intense pressure from the doctors, would probably win approval in the House. Even less difficulty would be expected from the Senate. Some Republican senators who voted against Medicare in 1962 have been replaced by pro-Medicare Democrats now, and some Southern Democrats privately admit that they voted against the bill in 1962 because it had no chance: there was no political advantage, they explain, in a vote that would only produce enmity from doctors and no benefits to constituents. If Medicare had a chance, they would support it, confident that the medical benefits would redound to their advantage in the long run.

The President has made it clear to intimates that he wants a Medicare bill. The White House is also prepared to offer a compromise that Mills might find appealing. To alleviate his concern about future costs, administration officials probably will agree to raise the taxable wage base from $4,800 to $5,400 or even $5,600, instead of the $5,200 proposed by the bill. They also have let it be known they will be happy to accept Mills's ideas for improving Kerr-Mills. Johnson took pains in his Health Message of February 10 to portray Kerr-Mills as a valuable supplement, not a substitute, for Medicare.

Thus, the Kerr-Mills Act, embraced so fervently by AMA leaders, could turn out to guarantee their ultimate defeat in the Medicare battle. The reason rests in plain arithmetic. As Kerr-Mills expands and improves, its financing charges will soar; from total Federal and state outlays of $196 million the first full year of operations (fiscal 1962), the costs are expected to reach $451 million in fiscal 1965. Even if there is no legislation this year, the growing drain on Federal and state treasuries is bound to generate powerful pressures for a sensible financing arrangement—like a payroll tax plan. "One of the strangest things about this whole issue has been the cross-up in ideologies," one Capitol Hill veteran has observed. "The conservatives have been the liberals, and the liberals have been the conservatives."

BUT EVEN without this unexpected assist from Kerr-Mills, Medicare's boosters have one other reason for believing they will achieve their objective—if not this year, sometime soon after. The senior-citizen lobbies are growing more powerful simply because the ranks of those over sixty-five are increasing so rapidly, from 15.5 million five years ago to 18 million now. And the power of this bloc of voters is hardly lost on the average congressman.

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ABROAD

As the Dust Settles in Brazil

A. A. BERLE

THE OVERTHROW of the Goulart régime in Brazil took only forty-eight hours, but it was months in the making. Although it was principally carried out by the Brazilian Army, this was not a military coup. It expressed the will of an overwhelming majority of the civilian population, registered through the state governors and other elected officials who took part and even more through unofficial, popularly organized groups. These had a co-ordinated plan for ousting Goulart as early as last fall. On Easter weekend that plan was carried out with precision.

João Goulart was political heir to the remnants of the late President Getulio Vargas's dictatorial machine, and also to Vargas's political history, which Goulart was doomed to repeat.

Vargas became president of Brazil in 1930 and made himself dictator in 1938, modeling his "New State" along Italian Fascist lines. He promised elections in 1945, but as the date approached, signs multiplied that he would not go through with them. The Brazilian Army intervened and ousted Vargas, after which the elections were held and a retired general, Eurico Dutra, was elected to the presidency—just as a general now seems likely to be chosen to succeed Goulart.

"Jango" Goulart made his first major appearance in 1950, when Vargas was again elected president. Goulart became the leader of Vargas's Labor Party, which depended for support on the Fascist-style government unions, and he became secretary of labor. The army, with wide popular support, demanded Vargas's resignation in 1954, after his palace guard attempted to assassinate Carlos Lacerda, then an outspoken opposition journalist. Vargas, implicated in the plot against Lacerda although he was not responsible for it, committed suicide. The following year, when Juscelino Kubitschek ran for the presidency as the Social Democratic candidate, Goulart was added to the ticket to pull in the votes of his Labor Party. The formula was successful and was repeated in 1960, when Goulart paired with Jânio Quadros. While Goulart attracted little attention as vice-president, after the resignation of Quadros in 1961 (Goulart was returning from China when it happened) the prospect of his succeeding to the presidency occasioned great opposition from old foes of Vargas. There was talk of intervention by the Brazilian Army, but he was finally accepted.

GOULART promptly went to work to consolidate his position. He called a plebiscite to force congress to restore powers taken away from the presidency under Quadros. By the summer of 1963, many knowledgeable Brazilians were convinced that he intended to make himself dictator as his mentor Vargas had done, and that he intended to steer the country into the Communist camp. Goulart denies that he is a Communist, and he may be merely an opportunist. But it is undeniable that he pulled his labor unions in line with Communist Party forces, both overt and covert, and their common propaganda line was viciously anti-United States. Moreover, he maneuvered some pro-Communist army officers into positions of influence and connived at infiltrating the ranks. At the same time, he fought with congress, dominated by centrists and conservatives, and carried on a bitter feud with Lacerda, governor of the state of Guanabara (which is greater Rio de Janeiro). Lacerda has given Guanabara the most effective and reform-minded administration in its history. Having been a pro-Communist in his youth, he knew the game and steadily blocked Goulart's moves. He was a leading member of the group that became convinced that there was no other solution than to overthrow the president.

Goulart's opponents had carefully constructed a politically cohesive base composed of elements of the Brazilian Army, traditionally opposed to dictatorship of any kind, the labor unions not controlled by Goulart, and Catholic groups in the cities, especially in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Belo Horizonte. State governors were approached, notably José Magalhaes Pinto of Minas Gerais, Adhemar de Barros of São Paulo, Ildo Meneghetti of Rio Grande do Sul, and, of course, Carlos Lacerda. An understanding was reached among all these elements. A huge Catholic rally was scheduled for April 2 to precede the revolt, but when on Good Friday a "mutiny" took place in the Brazilian Marine Corps—clearly stimulated by Goulart, who promptly promised amnesty to incite other scheduled "mutinies" against commanders not under Communist influence—the time for waiting had obviously passed. Troops marched on Rio.

The possibility of a Goulart coup had been uppermost in the minds of the opposition. Goulart had concentrated some eighteen thousand troops he believed he could control in Rio de Janeiro, obviously planning to displace Governor Lacerda. But once troops began moving from the provinces and after the chief state governors had declared their adherence to the opposition, the president's forces were seen to be inadequate. Lacerda mobilized some units in the army favorable to him and his own state police, seized the fort at the end of Copacabana Beach, barricaded his government palace, ran up the blue-and-white flag of Guanabara, and stood firm. The Goulart troops had to be split to meet oncoming rebel forces, leaving a reduced garrison in Rio, where Lacerda soon regained control.

Goulart attempted to regroup his forces in Brasilia, the capital in the interior, but there too the opposition was in control. After a brief stand in his home state of Rio Grande do Sul, where he joined forces with his leftist brother-in-law,

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the former state governor Leonel Brizola, Goulart fled to Uruguay. The Brazilian chamber of deputies, then in session (though poorly attended), immediately declared that Goulart had abandoned the presidency. The next man in constitutional succession, Ranieri Mazzilli, president of the chamber of deputies, was then proclaimed interim president. Within thirty days the Brazilian congress must choose a man to fill out Goulart's term. Leaders of the revolt have urged the conservative elements dominating the congress to name the army chief of staff, General Humberto Castelo Branco. National elections are scheduled for the fall of 1965.

Sheathing the Swords

In classic Brazilian fashion, the result of the movement maintains constitutional government. The civilian political structure in Brazil, though frequently disorderly, is strong. Political parties are more state than national affairs, more so even than in the United States. Magalhaes Pinto, Adhemar de Barros, and Carlos Lacerda all had substantial popular pluralities in the recent election. Similar anti-Goulart pluralities elected the governors of Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, and Bahia, as well as a number of smaller states. The only substantial exception is Pernambuco in the poverty-stricken Northeast, where the Communist-following Governor Miguel Arraes has been put under arrest for the time being.

Though the army spearheaded the revolt, its outcome is more civilian and political than military. Never in modern Brazilian history has the army set up a military government. It indicates no tendency to do so now. The former president, General Dutra, like General Eisenhower, left the army upon his election. General Nelson de Melo assisted organization of the provisional civilian government after Vargas fell in 1945. The tradition of the Brazilian Army in refusing to seize the government is honorable and unbroken. Quite simply, the army joined in planning and executing this movement to prevent dictatorship in Brazil, in this case one apparently aimed at setting up some type of Communist state.

The new government faces staggering problems. Goulart had recklessly pushed Brazil to the brink of economic chaos as well as accelerating the country's runaway inflation. The exchange rate fell to two thousand cruzeiros to the dollar under Goulart (but rose to 1,400 soon after the coup), and his announced policy of expropriation without guarantees of adequate compensation forced a flight of capital and wrecked what little credit Brazil had left. Brazil must buy oil abroad, a heavy burden with the cruzeiro weakened. The incoming group proposes to spur development of deposits of oil-bearing shale to rectify this deficiency, but it will take time. In the interim, transport will suffer and there is apt to be hardship in the large cities. The country's industrial base is in good shape; the problem will be to make it more productive as rapidly as possible. The Goulart-controlled labor unions seem to have fallen apart, and the general strike to protest the coup fizzled. Given time, Brazil will pull out, but the going will be rough. Our readiness to send help swiftly will be a major factor, and President Johnson's message was a model of warmth and good sense.

Historically, the events of Easter weekend, 1964, in Brazil may prove as decisive for Latin America as was the defeat of the Communist attempt to take over Western Europe by strikes and subversion during the winter of 1947-1948. After that defeat, the Marshall Plan could go forward in Europe. Now, it seems, the Alliance for Progress may really go forward in Latin America. Venezuela under Rómulo Betancourt, and now under Raúl Leoni, has shown the effectiveness of democratic government devoted to social welfare and economic progress. This, it is to be hoped, is also the intent of the new group taking over Brazil. Both countries had to fight the effects of Communist and pro-Communist elements to establish a left-wing dictatorship along Cuban lines; both knew these efforts were financed and guided by the Soviet Union (and probably also China) from a Cuban base. Now that this threat is reduced, Brazil, like Venezuela, can go about its real business of increasing production and raising the standard of living. Here the Alliance for Progress can serve its purpose—and once Brazil co-operates with the Alliance, that program begun so bravely three years ago will at last begin to have the continent-wide political base it has so sorely lacked.

Inflation and U.S. Aid

JAMES W. ROWE

GRATIFYING as the political revolt in Brazil has been to Washington, the necessity to help the new régime cope with the country's awesome economic mess presents the Johnson administration with major problems. Contrary to some predictions, aiding Brazil is unlikely to provide a showdown between the "hard-line" and "soft-line" divergences on Latin-American policy within the administration—between advocates of a major assault on inflation, reversal of nationalistic trends in trade and foreign policy, and emphasis on private capital in development as conditions for stepped-up aid, and supporters of the supposedly more tolerant policies associated with the New Frontier. Brazil seems assured of a considerable injection of aid, but State Department officials admit that how, when, and under what conditions it can be given are difficult questions.

The basic consideration for U.S. policymakers is that Brazil, under Goulart or anybody else, is just too big and dynamic to be ignored. With nearly seventy-eight million people, Brazil ranks eighth in the world in population, fifth in area, and eleventh in gross national product. For about fifteen years after the Second World War, the gross national product increased at over six per cent annually and per capita income at 3.5 per cent, one of the highest rates in the world. (Recently a dearth of foreign investment has resulted in

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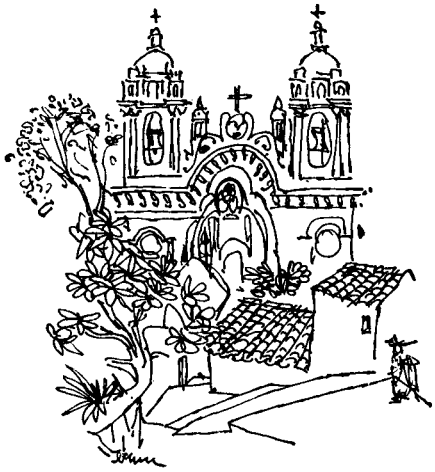
a drop in the growth rate and, as the population continues to rise, per capita income has shown no increase.) The country industrialized rapidly and about seventy per cent of industrial demand is met domestically. Economic and urban development proceeded unevenly, however. Vast areas of rural stagnation and poverty hold per capita income to an average of $350 annually. Even before the chaotic Goulart interlude, collaboration with Brazil proved unusually frustrating for the United States. Overriding all problems was inflation, on the rise for many decades and approximating fifty per cent a year by the late 1950's. Equally disturbing was the Brazilian attitude that so long as impressive growth was registered, inflation could be tolerated. Brazil consistently rejected counsels of austerity and the orthodox stabilization formulas offered by the International Monetary Fund. Some economists held that inflation was inevitable, and in any case contributed to capital growth, working as an indirect tax on wage earners, whose pay lagged behind price rises. Politicians, who in a jumbled system of parties and state loyalties are inordinately dependent on patronage and pork, resisted the few attempts made at trimming the bloated budget, the prime source of inflationary pressures. Those hardest hit by inflation, fixed-income groups and wage earners, were divided on other issues. No national leaders took a firm stand to halt the dizzy process until Jânio Quadros won the 1960 presidential election on an anti-corruption, anti-inflation platform. Nevertheless the United States, even before the Alliance for Progress was launched, had put some $1.5 billion of assistance, mostly loans, into Brazil; U.S. private investment accounted for more than $1.1 billion, most of it since the war.

SINCE the Alliance was announced three years ago, the U.S. aid program in Brazil has passed through three phases. The first was based on hopes aroused by the impressive victory of Quadros, who promised economic reforms, and on fears of a ripening revolutionary situation in the Northeast. A government-private-international package provided a



$656-million stabilization credit in May, 1961, in exchange for Quadros's promise to trim the budget deficit, impose credit controls, and reduce coffee subsidies. Shortly afterwards, Celso Furtado, a Cambridge-educated economist and head of SUDENE (the Northeast Development Agency), visited Washington and received President Kennedy's assurances of support for his integrated assault on regional poverty. Hopes lingered even after Quadros's bizarre resignation and Goulart's stormy succession in late 1961. Goulart was given a ticker-tape parade in Manhattan and promises in Washington of $131 million for Northeast development. But more basic plans foundered. By mid-1962, with Goulart and his congress engaged in a battle over executive powers, American officials saw that neither reforms nor stabilization would get any attention in the near future.

The second phase began in early 1963 after Goulart had succeeded in strengthening the presidential authority, and appeared ready to make a serious effort at economic housecleaning. He named Celso Furtado minister of planning and ordered him to produce a Three-Year Plan; he also sent Finance Minister San Thiago Dantas to obtain new credits in Washington. With Brazil's exchange reserves exhausted, Dantas, who had previously been categorized in the U.S. press as the "leftist" architect of an "independent" foreign policy under both Quadros and Goulart, proved surprisingly orthodox. Out of his trip came the Dantas-Bell agreement of March, 1963. Although Ambassador Lincoln Gordon was already warning of Communist infiltration in high places, the United States once more—if somewhat more warily—agreed on bail-out assistance, calling Dantas's plans "impressive." The total package was $398 million of hard and soft loans, of which $84 million was available immediately. Brazil agreed to meet a dozen conditions for both long-term and short-term assistance—budget reduction, liquidation of commercial arrears, limitation of wage increases, agrarian reform, trimming of petroleum and wheat subsidies, tighter bank credit, and the like. The arrangement was also linked informally to a request to the International Monetary Fund for a $100-million standby loan, eventually turned down. But Stage Two died aborning. On Dantas's return he was attacked by Leonel Brizola, Goulart's nationalist-demagogue brother-in-law, for "selling out"; both Dantas and Furtado were out of the cabinet in a few weeks, and the Three-Year Plan was quietly shelved. After agreeing to limit civil-service wage increases to forty per cent, the government upped them sixty per cent (at the insistence, it should be noted, of the armed forces). Industries refused to abide by the voluntary price-control plan. The new budget, when proposed, carried a deficit of nearly half a billion dollars. Not one of the Dantas conditions was honored. Consequently very little of the U.S. funds was forthcoming—only a $25-million credit to the Bank for Industrial Development and $35 million for individual development projects. This leaves about $200 million in already authorized funds which the administration could release to Brazil immediately.

'Islands of Sanity'

The program could have virtually ceased at this point, as Goulart's methods became ever more apparent. Ambassador Gordon, however, seeing that increased unpredictability, demagoguery, and reliance on extremist elements made it impossible to work with the Goulart administration, conceived Stage Three—unobtrusive collaboration with "islands of sanity," a term used to describe several reform-minded state governments headed by men such as Aluizio Alvez of Rio Grande do Norte

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and Carlos Lacerda of Guanabara, plus SUDENE and other enterprises authorized to receive aid directly. Low-interest loans have continued to go into water and sewage systems for Northeastern cities, slum clearance in Rio, expansion of the Volta Redonda steelworks, electric power in Bahia, and access roads in the rural interior. This project approach, as it is known in the Interamerican Development Bank, avoids the immediate political issues and puts its faith in long-range incremental development.

Given the magnitude of the needs, the record of the Alliance in Brazil to date is not impressive. Aside from the enormous frustrations encountered in dealing with rudderless or giddy government, the American effort has suffered from numerous personnel problems and its own internal administrative snarls. Despite this, it has channeled nearly $500 million into Brazil since Punta del Este, most of it in development rather than bail-out aid. Spokesmen for AID claim that ten thousand houses, sixteen thousand classrooms, 3.5 million schoolbooks, and about five hundred municipal waterworks are among its tangible accomplishments.

Project aid seems sure to continue and increase. But with a new government installed in Brasilia, broader assistance will again be an issue. Inflation is worse than it has ever been, with price increases of approximately eighty-two per cent in 1963 continuing at six or seven per cent monthly this year. According to a Washington economist, one of many who believe that eighty-five per cent is about the point at which inflation becomes institutionalized, "Automatic behavioral reactions, infinitely harder to eradicate" may set in. The foreign debt is about $3.8 billion, with some $1.3 billion due in the next eighteen months. Under these grave circumstances, what conditions will the United States ask before giving credits big enough to make even a dent in Brazil's problems? Will Brazil's new régime be able to meet them?

Within the Johnson administration, some advisers are pointing out that there is a limit to what an interim Brazilian government can do, but most officials are reserving comment until requests are actually received. They must also anticipate the reaction of Congress, which responded vigorously to the threatened wholesale expropriations of U.S. owned utilities two years ago. Shortly after the ouster of Goulart, Senator Wayne Morse hailed the turn of events but stated that he saw no reason to alter the position he and other senators had taken earlier, that increased aid remains contingent on compliance with the stabilization features of the Dantas-Bell agreement. As one Alliance for Progress spokesman put it, there is a persistent "negative syndrome" about Brazil quite apart from Goulart's impact —compounded of the complexity of its politics and psychology, its tradition of fiscal unorthodoxy, and recent ambitions to play big-power world politics.

EARLY SIGNS from Brasilia indicate that the régime may be disposed to take some actions acceptable to orthodox circles in Washington, such as revocation of the land expropriations and refinery nationalizations ordered by Goulart. The interim finance minister, Octavio Gouveia de Bulhoes, was fired as credit and currency director a year ago precisely because of his opposition to the nationalist-inspired profits-remittance law. Several leaders of the revolt, including Governors Lacerda and de Barros, have been outspokenly pro-American. But there are also some nationalists and rightists among the new power elite, sectors by no means consistent on anti-inflationary measures. As an example of what may be in store, Celso Furtado, a vigorous but democratic reformer, has already been removed from his SUDENE post. Above all, it is questionable whether an interim government facing competing pressures for favors from the already active presidential aspirants of 1965 will be strong enough to cut excess bureaucracy, subsidies, and the precious "small privileges" which account for so much of the deficit financing. Although a real threat to Brazilian democracy has been averted, it may soon be evident to both Americans and Brazilians that not all the country's problems stem from the Left.

De Gaulle's Mexican Hat Dance

GLADYS DELMAS

MEXICO CITY

THE flowery Mexican flag that greeted President de Gaulle at the airport here on March 16 bore, in place of Mexico's eagle and serpent, a Phrygian cap formed of red carnations, a symbol of the revolutionary France of 1789. President Adolfo López Mateos in his welcoming speech hailed the general as "one of the most illustrious heroes of the Second World War." Thus circumscribed between the Cross of Lorraine and Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, the visit was a triumph.

It is, however, in the limits voluntarily drawn around it that its greatest significance lies. Both protagonists joined in the restraint. General de Gaulle never uttered a word that could be construed as a slur on the United States. He adopted López Mateos's phrase that Franco-Mexican friendship was "not directed against anyone or anything." The farthest he allowed himself to go in the direction of new horizons and alignments was a reiterated insistance on a rapidly changing world and the need to change with it.

De Gaulle was in a mood to please and to charm. He returned the flags captured on the battlefields of the French "intervention" in the 1860's which had hung in the Invalides with France's other trophies of glory. He heaped praise on the Mexicans for their long history, their progress, their respect for human rights. He paid them the compliment of speaking excellent Spanish in return for their granting his unprecedented request to use the balcony of the National Palace as a rostrum. He unbent his long figure to greet the

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Mexican president in the chummy bear hug known as the *abrazo*. He sidestepped with grace and aplomb the thorny question of Latin brotherhood, touted at present by Paris as a bond with Latin America but less appreciated in a country that emphasizes the splendors of its pre-Columbian civilizations. France, he told a cheering audience at University City, was, like Mexico, born of the happy marriage of two civilizations, Gaul and Rome.

In spite of his avoidance of the easy slogans that win Latin-American hearts, the crowds were enthusiastic. It is worth noting, however, that he was almost always hailed as the restorer of French independence and the liberator of the African colonies rather than as the founder of the Fifth Republic and the architect of a new grandeur. The welcome was neither as big nor as warm as President Kennedy's two years ago; but one must remember, a Mexican friend said to me, "He didn't bring Jacqueline."

If de Gaulle ventured little on this first foray into Latin America, it is perhaps for several reasons: Mexico stands least in need of what France has to offer, and its foreign policy differs from that of France on several major points.

De Gaulle came offering various things: money, of course—a loan of $150 million granted in Paris last year when President López Mateos visited him—technical assistance, and an "alternative source" for both these things, his only oblique reference to the United States but a key to the new French pitch in Latin America.

Before his arrival, however, López Mateos in two official interviews with the French press put these offers into their Mexican perspective. He was too courteous to remind his French readers that money is flowing into Mexico as never before; the country is now in a position to accept only loans offering satisfactory terms, and has indeed refused several. He did stress, however, that a developing country should rely chiefly on its own efforts, and that the loans Mexico received were not gifts but profitable operations for the lender, expanding his market as well as providing an attractive return on his investment.

In regard to technical assistance, López Mateos pointed out that Mexico has reached the stage where it can offer it to other countries. He did not spell out the magnitude of this effort, but it is impressive, particularly in the fields of public health, education, dam construction, and agricultural research. Since 1950, three hundred Mexican specialists have been sent abroad to work in various United Nations organizations, not only in Latin America but also in the Middle and Far East and in Africa. Mexico has established international training centers—a magnificent school for social-

López Mateos

security workers, one for civil aviators, another for audio-visual educators. Agricultural experts from all over the world now travel to Chapingo to study Mexican developments in the improvement of cereal grains.

Mexico's extraordinary program of prefabricated rural schools has led to the establishment of a regional center for the extension of the program to the rest of Latin America. Mexico has already given such schools to Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, and Chile, and sent twenty to Yugoslavia after the earthquake in Skoplje. It has also given various vaccines and antibiotics manufactured here to its less developed neighbors in Central America and the Caribbean.

López Mateos also stressed the importance Mexico places on international organizations, particularly those connected with the United Nations, as channels for aid. This made headlines in South America. Bilateral aid programs, particularly when they are one-way, are felt as a degrading charity; de-Americanization of the Alliance for Progress, for instance, and renewed emphasis on its conception as a multilateral commitment among the American republics, is widely demanded. However, the point was perhaps made for the benefit of de Gaulle, whose disdain for "the nations that pretend to be united" is well known.

Constant Counterpoint

The offer of an "alternative source" was dealt with more obliquely in the interviews with French reporters. "Does the United States hold a privileged position in the international relations of Mexico?" one asked. The Mexican president replied that his country treats all countries great and small as equals. Because of a common frontier and a tremendous volume of commerce, he said, it is normal that Mexico should consider maintenance of good relations with the United States of major importance. This and solidarity with the rest of Latin America are Mexico's two main foreign-policy concerns. Mexico, he emphasized, is not confined in a narrow regionalism, but is eager to co-operate with "all the peoples of the earth . . . in strengthening peace with justice, which should not be considered solely as the protection of the formal rights of one people but as the creation of conditions that encourage international co-operation."

The constant Mexican stress on international co-operation and unrestricted commerce was a theme running in counterpoint to de Gaulle's constant bilateral approach. It was an indirect reminder of other issues that divide France and Mexico. Mexico proudly presides over the disarmament conference at Geneva, which France has boycotted, and has taken the lead in seeking an atomic-weapons ban in Latin America. Peru and Chile, in particular, are aroused by the French proposal

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to explode a bomb on a South Pacific island from which currents flow to their shores. France's refusal to sign the limited nuclear test-ban treaty, negotiated at Geneva, is thus doubly resented here. Recognition of Communist China, which Mexico pointedly declared a few days before the visit it had no intention of granting, and of Franco Spain, with which France has ever closer ties, but which Mexico still considers ruled by a Fascist intruder, was not even mentioned.

ONE BASIC DIFFERENCE did get a partial airing. This concerned the privileged position of France's former African colonies in selling their products to the European Common Market, thus closing it to similar exports from Mexico and the rest of Latin America. In a common front it is presenting to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva, Latin America is asking for the removal of all tariffs and internal taxes on tropical products, hoping thus both to abolish the African privileges and to expand the market by lowering prices to the consumer without loss to the producer. "If coffee were cheaper, maybe the French would use less chicory," said a Mexican economist.

De Gaulle's reply was loftily vague, although it made headlines in the local press as the chief benefit from the visit. He promised to present at Geneva "new formulas, both for basic as well as semi- and fully manufactured products that come from developing countries and particularly those of Latin America."

Actually, the French proposals on record prior to de Gaulle's visit, as submitted in a memorandum to the United Nations in advance of the conference, run counter to the Latin-American position. Mexican officials said the French recommended an international support price as high as the market will bear, with the difference between the real price and the support price going into a fund to be distributed not to the producers but to the governments of the developing countries. This would mean transferring to the consumer the cost of development, shutting off the free play of competition demanded by the Latin Americans, and probably narrowing instead of broadening the market—not to mention providing a new means of channeling aid to Africa without recourse to the French treasury.

The "new formulas for semi- and fully manufactured goods" appear to be more closely in line with Latin-American aspirations, although they are a good deal more subtle and discriminating than Latin America's flat proposal of preferential entry into industrial countries, without reciprocity, of anything the developing countries choose to make. They are in direct opposition to the U.S. trade philosophy, and Under Secretary of State George Ball has already attacked them at Geneva.

Mexico welcomes French support for the Latin-American position even though it stands least in need of it. A third of Mexico's foreign commerce is already in manufactured and semi-manufactured goods; five years ago only a fifth was. "If we can sell freight cars to the United States and seamless-steel pipe to Venezuela and Argentina, in direct competition with the industrial countries," a Mexican pointed out proudly, "I think we can manage whatever happens at Geneva."

Nothing Succeeds Like . . .

What, then, is the net result of de Gaulle's visit?

The French profess to be delighted. The four days were unmarred by untoward incidents. No cries of "Ban the bomb!," no displays, no demonstrations against Communist China by the local Chinese colony. And the trip hopefully will serve as an example for the South American countries de Gaulle will visit in the fall. Moreover, the absence of so much as a hint of anti-Yankeeism should allay American fears that he is fishing in troubled waters. In military terms, de Gaulle has established a bridgehead at the strongest point in Latin America, the point, furthermore, where French influence, so strong at the turn of the century, had suffered the sharpest decline. Rio, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Lima still look to Paris for their intellectual and social modes. Revolutionary Mexico is much less permeable. "That's why we started here," a Frenchman said. "Mexico is the success of Latin America, and we want France to be allied with success."

The Mexicans, too, are pleased. The visit provided them with a world platform from which to proclaim their international position, which they feel has often been misunderstood, particularly in the United States. It is based on several principles evolved from painful national experience: nonintervention, stemming from the 1860's when Napoleon III sent an army across the Atlantic to collect a debt, and the equality of all peoples, stemming from repeated attempts in the past on the part of foreign governments, especially the United States, to demand privileged treatments for their interests in Mexico.

These are essentially defensive principles, proper to a small country with a tortured history. Within the last few years, however, as Mexico has grown stronger and more assured, it has been assuming ever greater responsibilities in international affairs. These principles are increasingly being used not only to defend Mexico but also as the basis for the construction of a world order with which Mexico is increasingly concerned. "Mexico is independent but not neutral," says President López Mateos.

This new outgoingness of Mexico is of very recent origin. Perhaps we can date it from January, 1960, when López Mateos, on the first trip ever made by a Mexican president to South America, declared in Buenos Aires, to the considerable surprise of his listeners, that Mexico would like to join a Latin-American common market—hitherto conceived as a regional organization of the "southern cone." Since then, Mexico has increasingly participated in hemispheric affairs, not demanding leadership as did Argentina and Brazil in the heyday of Perón and Vargas, but carrying increasing weight because of its own increasing prosperity, the steadiness of its course, and its imperviousness to outside influence, particularly our own. By turning the dialogue of France-Mexico into Europe-Latin America—a dichotomy running through all of the official speeches —Mexico had almost unwittingly assumed the role of spokesman for the region.

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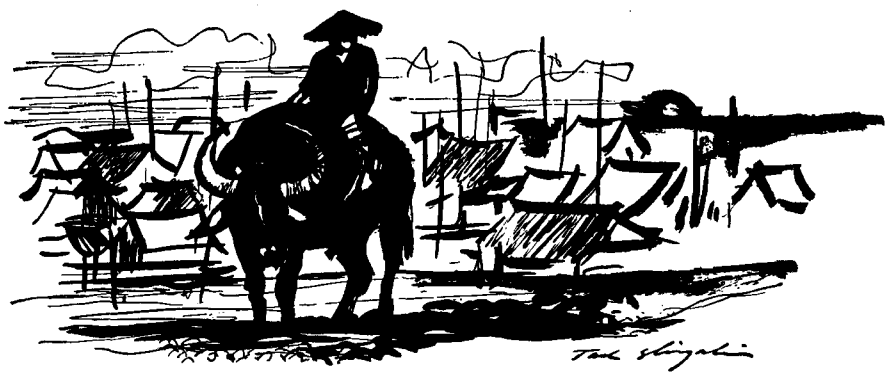

How Sukarno Keeps His Revolution Spinning

DENIS WARNER

DJAKARTA

LEGS APART and arms reaching to the sky to form a gigantic X, the figure of a Papuan, five times life size, stands on two lofty granite pillars in downtown Djakarta. As a work of art, it is ugly. As an introduction to Sukarno's Indonesia and to what motivates official ideology here, it is all-important. The statue commemorates Indonesia's expulsion of the Dutch from West Irian. More significantly, it symbolizes Sukarno's decision to put revolution before rice, and offers a clue to why needed measures to stabilize the economy were scrapped after the West Irian campaign in favor of the drive to "crush Malaysia"; why the fanfare of repeated Afro-Asian conferences is given priority over down-to-earth domestic work; why so much military might has been superimposed on such a fragile economic base; and why capital has been squandered on such prestige splurges as the Hotel Indonesia ($14 million), the Asian Games stadium ($15 million), three Convair jet airliners ($15 million, including spare parts), and the world's biggest mosque ($30 million).

Twice in recent months Indonesia has faced crises of decision, and each time the choice has been in keeping with the spirit of the Irian statue. Confronted last September with the clear-cut choice between continuing the "crush Malaysia" campaign and receiving $300 million from the International Monetary Fund and a consortium headed by the United States as part of a long-range plan to stabilize the economy, Sukarno rejected the aid. In the ultranationalistic fever then prevailing, this decision was unfortunate but not really surprising.

BUT it was one thing to refuse aid because of real or imagined strings and quite another to ignore the physical suffering of millions of Indonesians. Such was the effect of the second crisis decision made by Sukarno early in March. Talks in Bangkok on the Malaysian dispute had collapsed when the Indonesians refused to withdraw their four hundred guerrillas from Sabah and Sarawak as a precondition for further negotiations. While this brief conference was in progress, Sukarno got the first full reports of widespread hunger and malnutrition in eastern and central Java and of a general food shortage throughout Indonesia. These two crises were considered together at a series of conferences in Djakarta and Bogor as soon as Dr. Subandrio, the first deputy premier and foreign minister, returned from Bangkok.

Not a single voice was raised in the joint sessions of KOTI (Supreme Operation Command) and KOTOE (Supreme Economic Operation Command) against Sukarno's ruling rejecting the food crisis as an adequate reason for putting *konfrontasi* (Sukarno's policy of anti-colonial confrontation designed in 1963 to crush Malaysia) into cold storage and propounding instead his new concept of "revolutionary military thinking." Just what this meant was explained by Sukarno in his opening address to a national conference on food some days later. "Every revolution, including the Russian Revolution, which cost the lives of millions because of food shortages, has had its difficulties," he said.

The Indonesian people got the message: the hungry would stay hungry. "Food difficulties now being encountered cannot be solved in a conventional manner, such as by importing foodstuffs," said Subandrio. "If the country were unwilling [because of food shortages] to face the neo-colonialist project of Malaysia, it would mean a bogging down of the development and growth of the revolution."

But to attribute Sukarno's reaction to the food crisis to adventurism, or to explain away the Malaysian *konfrontasi* as a diversion from the disasters that have assailed the Indonesian people, is an oversimplification.

SUKARNO is a frustrated demagogue. There are many men around who would like to re-create Nusantara, the glorious pre-historical Indonesia which included New Guinea, all of Borneo, the Malay Peninsula, and much beyond; and there are some, including Sukarno, who believe that there will be only two great Asian powers in the future—China and Indonesia—with their own broad spheres of influence.

The militant evangelist feeds on adversity, and Sukarno is no exception. Thus, while millions of people in central and eastern Java are suffering from malnutrition and the whole economy is grinding slowly to a halt, he is moved to new peaks of eloquence in his attacks on imperialism and colonialism. After playing host to the first Afro-Asian Conference in 1955, Sukarno let his passion for world leadership leap far beyond his national boundaries. "My idea of unifying all forces in the struggle against oppressors started

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in Java," he said at a fund-raising affair for the Afro-Asian film festival about to be held in Djakarta. "It then extended to the whole of Indonesia, thence to the nations of Asia and Africa, the nations of Latin America, and finally to all nations of the new emerging forces. This became necessary because the imperialists had to be dealt with by all the forces of those nations that wanted to build the world anew."

The Old Order Must Go

Since the 1955 Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung, Sukarno has arranged a never-ending succession of politically motivated conferences, cultural gatherings, and even sports meetings to press the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

As host city, Djakarta has had to have the proper window dressing. If to western economists the diversion of critical building materials to monuments, sports stadiums, mosques, and hotels amounts to criminal waste, it is important to understand that the governing elite does not see it this way. For them, Indonesia's *Sverdlov*-class cruiser, MIG-21s, Badger (TU-16) bombers, guided missiles, and other Russian military equipment acquired at the cost of a crippling $1.2-billion loan are essential to the international image of Indonesia as the leader of the emerging anti-imperialist forces of the world.

Konfrontasi is another part of the image: the example to other emerging forces of how to confront imperialism and neo-colonialism. Just as they used limited military pressures to bring about an absolute political solution in Irian, the Indonesians think that far less than a full-scale guerrilla war is all that is needed against Malaysia.

A much-overlooked point here is that even the Malaysian acceptance of Indonesian terms for a political settlement—a plebiscite within five years to test whether the Sabah and Sarawak peoples in North Borneo wish to remain part of Malaysia—does not mean that Djakarta intends to abandon its basic goal to drive the British out of Southeast Asia. General Nasution, the defense minister, and D. N. Aidit, the Communist Party leader, the two Indonesians (apart from Sukarno and Subandrio) most immediately identified with *konfrontasi,* are not concerned at all with the will of the Borneo peoples.

Nasution believes that Malaysia with its large Chinese minority will open the way to Chinese Communist penetration of Indonesia. Anti-Communist and anti-Chinese though he professes to be, he has nevertheless armed and trained Chinese Communists from Sarawak to help him achieve his ends. Aidit, more realistically, is simply following Peking's and Sukarno's anti-imperialist lead.

This is not to suggest that all Indonesians have their tongues in their cheeks when they talk about the Malaysian "threat." Most senior officials believe that Malaysia is truly a British plot. The significance and nature of the "plot" vary from official to official; but apart from the army leaders and a minority of others who do genuinely fear that Malaysia's Chinese may be a spearhead for Peking, the misgivings are all allied with a basic ideological concept: that the old order, in whatever form, threatens the new and must therefore be destroyed.

In the long term, this may well prove much more dangerous to regional peace than simple adventurism. Thus, if the British were forced to withdraw their bases and their economic interests in Malaysia, Indonesian propaganda and subversion would in due course be directed against American bases in the Philippines, the Portuguese in Timor, or the Australian presence in New Guinea. Ultimately, even Australia's democratic system and western allegiance would be challenged. There is, in short, no foreseeable end to trouble in Southeast Asia so long as Djakarta continues to regard itself as the leader of the anti-colonialist crusade.

In the present mood, Indonesia can be neither tempted by the carrot nor threatened by the stick. With its foreign-exchange holdings down to some $50 million, it cannot draw on its reserves to buy food and continue *konfrontasi* at the same time. Nor is it tempted by foreign aid offered on humanitarian grounds. UNICEF, which has been feeding two hundred thousand Balinese since the disastrous volcanic eruption last year, offered skimmed milk for the famine areas in central Java. Mrs. Subandrio, the deputy minister of health, called the offer a deliberate attempt "to discredit the Indonesian government and people in the eyes of the world," a modest enough outburst compared with the statement of a lesser official who suggested that if people were really hungry they could go into the forests and eat snakes, lizards, rats, and even each other.

With more than half of the budget still devoted to military expenditure, Indonesia now has Southeast Asia's largest armed force. Its army of 240,000 men, and a navy and air force of about forty thousand each, dwarf the forces immediately available in the region to Malaysia and its British, Australian, and New Zealand friends. The navy and air force nevertheless seem to believe

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realistically that despite their Russian equipment, they might get a bloody nose if it came to all-out war. Neither expects such a misfortune, however.

Western opinions differ sharply on the tactics that should be used to block Indonesia's getting away with this armed blackmail. The prevailing official American view, which was reflected in the visit to Indonesia of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and in the peace-preserving role of Howard P. Jones, the ambassador, is that pressures on Indonesia must never go so far that Sukarno will "do a Castro."

"It wouldn't need more than just one speech by Sukarno to put Indonesia within the Communist bloc," said one American. "If we can avoid that and still prevent Indonesia from breaking up Malaysia we will have achieved all we can hope for."

The question whether the Indonesian people will continue to endure Sukarno's Communist-backed fascist-style dictatorship and the hardships it has brought to so many is certainly justified by current events. Nothing so angers the Indonesian government as the suggestion that the economy is on the point of collapse. Yet it is true. Sukarno's Indonesia has become the most tragic country in non-Communist Asia. The Indonesians are being driven by Sukarno's policies into inflation of a sort that has not been seen since Chiang Kai-shek's closing months on the mainland of China, and through inflation into hunger, corruption, and crime.

Dead Rice

The drought and the plagues of rats in central and eastern Java, where conditions are worst, have added to the widespread misery. It is difficult to describe briefly the conditions here without either exaggeration or understatement. About one-third of Java's sixty-five millions are now underfed or suffering from diet deficiency which medical officials describe as malnutrition. Several million more—accurate estimates are almost impossible to make—are critically short of food in those traditionally subsistence-level areas of Java.

Ten miles southeast of Djokjakarta in central Java, the rutted asphalt road leading to the town of Wonisari climbs high into a dividing range. Looking back toward Djokja, the countryside is a quiltwork of green rice and vegetable fields, with the smoking cone of a volcano in the background. Perhaps the rice is not as green as it ought to be, since drought and rats everywhere have taken a heavy toll, but it is lush and verdant in contrast to what lies on the other side.

There, in the Gunung Kidul, the rice is not just off-color; it is

bleached and dead. Dead also are many of the patches of tapioca and sweet potatoes with which the region's 573,000 inhabitants have tried futilely to keep hunger at bay. To a traveler anticipating the sight of dead and dying by the roadside, as I did, the first impression of the Gunung Kidul was an agreeable surprise. Men and women by the roadside seemed healthy enough in contrast to the grim countryside in which they lived. Here and there were some even lucky enough to be able to offer watermelons for sale.

Off the main roads, however, conditions were tragic. In two subdistricts with a total population of between forty and fifty thousand, rats ate most of the rice grains as soon as they were planted and went on to finish off the tapioca and sweet potatoes. These two desolate limestone regions grew nothing. Every crop failed. When it began to rain, the inhabitants rushed to plant the few rice seedlings they had saved from the rats. These had barely begun to grow when a storm washed them out. Thereafter, no rain came and the seedlings that had survived now withered and died. To fetch drinking water the peasants had to walk two or three miles and sometimes further to slime-encrusted pools that dried up later in the continuing drought. People ate rats and Gunung Kidul's snakes.

In an emergency hospital at Wonisari, there were six hundred edema sufferers crowded four to a bed. Three thousand other famine victims could find no hospital accommodation. Doctors who visited Gunung Kidul often told gloomier stories, not of immediate distress—there is plenty of that in Djokjakarta, where beggars have multiplied and sometimes die in the streets—but in long-term prognosis. "You may think I am exaggerating, but almost everyone you see in Gunung Kidul is dying slowly from malnutrition or hunger," said a doctor. "We can cure them of edema, but what will happen to them when they go back to their homes?"

To a newspaper editor in Djokjakarta, I suggested that the stories of the famine might have been exaggerated. "They are not exaggerated," he replied. There are many qualifications which must, nevertheless, be made. Famine in Gunung Kidul is not something entirely new. The region has been a minus area in food production for generations. It is barren and overpopulated, and every year for a month or two suffers from too little food and water. The difference this year, here and almost everywhere in central and eastern Java, is that the drought did not end. It went on from March, 1963, until the end of the year, and with it came the rats. "We've killed four million rats around Wonisari," said Djojodinigrat, the regional chief, "but we can't cope with them in the hills."

The long-delayed rains began to fall last month, and in all but the worst areas the Javanese peasants succeeded in planting their crops. Since the rains usually end in April, however, the prospects are that there

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will be little improvement in the harvest this year and that food shortages will become even more acute.

Four years ago, the price of rice in Djokjakarta was five rupiahs a kilo (2.2 pounds). With his wage of ten rupiahs a day, a worker could therefore buy two kilos of rice. In March the rice price rose to 220 rupiahs—it topped the 300 mark in Djakarta—but the worker's daily wage was only thirty rupiahs. In other words, where the daily wage was once sufficient to buy two kilos of rice, it now buys less than one-seventh of a kilo.

Tapioca and corn are substitutes that the Indonesians, if they are hungry enough, will accept when they are available. But the inflationary spiral of prices while wages remain almost unchanged is beyond the capacity of all but the corrupt or the privileged to cope with. A senior official gets fourteen thousand rupiahs a month, a university lecturer six thousand. Neither makes enough to live on.

Moonlighting helps, and most people have two jobs. For instance, a woman working for the foreign ministry calculated that she and her husband had to earn six thousand rupiahs above their combined salaries just to pay for their food. In a land of unemployment and underemployment the second job is not always easy to find. Thousands have disposed of their last remaining assets and face destitution.

In these circumstances, corruption and crime are inevitable and unavoidable. A tip of fifty per cent of the face value of the postage stamps is the customary fee to ensure that letters are actually dispatched in post offices. A thousand-rupiah note sandwiched into a bill of lading is often the only way to get delivery of a parcel at the airport. Burglars scoff at dogs, barbed-wire fences, and alarms. Houses are robbed again and again.

Since Indonesia slashed its own dwindling exports by cutting off all trade with Malaysia last September 21, it has searched energetically for alternative export markets. For a time, however, exports were halved, and even now something like a third of the smallholders' rubber that used to go to Singapore for processing and reshipment has not been able to find a market.

This was a blow the Indonesian economy simply could not afford. The black-market rate for the rupiah, which had risen from three hundred to the dollar in 1961 to about a thousand in 1962, increased to 1,300 by the end of 1963, and is now around the 1,800 mark.

Importers of essential commodities and equipment were promised quarterly licenses for 1964. Late in March none had been received. Deprived of spare parts and raw materials, industry is actually coming to a halt. Civil servants rarely work full time because they lack paper, carbons, and stencils.

Inflation compounds every problem. The wharves and warehouses at Tanjungpriok are overflowing with goods that came in months ago and are now rotting because the private importers and the government ministries no longer have the funds to clear them through customs.

The Chinese and the Soviets

All of this has produced discontent. Random conversations suggest that it is deep, but its expression so far has been confined to signs scribbled on walls. Nothing at the moment indicates that a popular uprising is possible. Opposition leaders of the past, men like Sutan Sjahrir, Mohammed Rum, and Mohammed Natsir, and journalists like Mochtar Lubis are in jail. Others dare express their opposition only in whispers.

Alone among those of national stature who remain at liberty and untainted are former Vice-President Mohammed Hatta and the Sultan of Djokjakarta. Many look to the Sultan to save Indonesia from itself after Sukarno has gone. Others, perhaps more realistically, want Hatta to return to the government now. "Hatta couldn't cure all the evils, but if he were to become premier and minister of economic affairs on the terms he wants, he could fix twenty-five per cent of our troubles," said one civil servant. "He must come back. There will never be another chance."

When and how all this will end and what will take its place is as unclear as ever. The potential candidates are jockeying for position, but no single figure emerges as a probable successor of Sukarno.

The Communists, with two million party members and eleven million fellow travelers, remain an enigma. While pursuing an international policy that runs parallel with Peking's—and also with Sukarno's—they have accepted a nonconforming, almost social-democratic role at home. They subscribe to Sukarno's Five Principles of State, including belief in God, and give no hint that they are interested in going into dissidence. Aidit calls Nasution a friend and says that there never will be a struggle for power between them.

This situation has produced a new theory that Aidit and his men are satellites of neither Peking nor Moscow but merely Indonesian nationals with Marxist-Leninist ideas. And this, in turn, has contributed to the continuing erosion of the anti-Communist and non-Communist position. This is not true in the outer islands, however. Atjeh and the Minangkabau areas of Sumatra, Celebes, and the Moluccas could all be counted on to resist a Communist takeover, even to the point of breaking up the Indonesian state. The army is still regarded as anti-Communist and by many as an insurmountable barrier to Communist ambitions.

To discourage any excessive optimism on this score, however, an Indonesian friend suggested that I examine the nature of the Soviet military aid. "In an archipelago like this," he said, "you need a navy for communications and an air force for control. These are the fields in which the Soviet aid has been concentrated. To keep both up-to-date will need not new and controversial aid but merely replacements. With this dependence on Russia, these two forces are not going to be anti-Soviet, or, by extension, anti-Communist. They could be the vehicles for a Communist take-over."

I reminded him of a remark made by Sjahrir when Khrushchev visited Indonesia in 1960. "Those poor Russians, I feel sorry for them," he said. "They could spend ten per cent of their gross national product here for the next ten years and still not be sure of the result."

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My Oxford Tutor, C. S. Lewis

GEORGE BAILEY

EARLY in 1946 I spent a week with my former commanding officer Colonel John Austin and his family in their cottage near Abingdo.., England. Not until then did I discover that Austin, in civilian life, was a philosophy don at Magdalen College, Oxford. More important to my immediate purpose, he was also the chairman of the board of admissions. "If you want to come to Magdalen," he said, "I shall tell Sir Henry Tizzard (the president of the college) that you are a good fellow, and we'll get you in." So he did and so I was. But there was a hitch. I wanted to read English, and the English don at Magdalen was C. S. Lewis.

Lewis was at the height of his fame. Long established as a scholar, he had become the popularizer par excellence of Christian dogma during the war. He had already written a score of books on Christianity and related subjects. *The Screwtape Letters* alone had gone through twenty British and fourteen American printings. As a celebrity of unparalleled magnitude, Lewis had far more undergraduates than he could conveniently handle in a college already overcrowded with the backlog of the war years. If I persisted in my intention of reading English, my final acceptance would depend on Lewis.

Hence, for me, my first meeting with Lewis was momentous. I found a medium size, rather stout, ruddy-faced man with a booming voice, much given to what someone once called "rhetorical guffawing" ("Ho, ho, ho! So you think Milton was ascetic, do you? Ho, ho, ho! You are quite wrong there!"). Lewis looked —and often acted—like the schoolbook description of Friar Tuck. His general manner was pronouncedly and—it often seemed—deliberately hearty. But he displayed no heartiness during my first interview with him.

It was rumored that Lewis did not like Americans. He grumbled that I was "a bit long in the tooth" (as indeed most of us ex-servicemen were), and questioned whether, as an American, I had sufficient background in English literature to undertake the course. But he accepted me.

UNLIKE the content, the form of the Full Honours Course of English Language and Literature at Oxford is simple: one essay a week on a set topic, or the undergraduate's selection from a set series of topics—usually an author or a period of English literary history—which is read aloud to the tutor during an hour's tutorial. Ordinarily the reading of the essay takes up the first fifteen minutes of the hour. In the remaining time the tutor attacks the essay's argument, and the undergraduate does his best to defend it. Lewis had three standard forms of initial comment on an essay. If the essay was good: "There is a good deal in what you say." If the essay was middling: "There is something in what you say." If the essay was bad: "There *may* be something in what you say." His other fairly standard comments were: "Too much straw and not enough bricks," and, "Not with brogans, please; bedroom slippers are in order when you proceed to make a literary point." I learned long afterward that Lewis's greatest dread in tutorials was the poor student who was also laconic. Such a student's essay would take up only five or six minutes of the hour, it would take perhaps another four or five minutes to dispense with it, leaving fifty minutes of petrifying boredom.

Lewis's anti-Americanism was no disadvantage as far as I was concerned. Quite the contrary. From the very first tutorial, Lewis consistently mistook me for Geoff Dutton, an Australian and an excellent student, and Dutton for me. My weak protests and Dutton's strong ones were equally and utterly in vain. Thus for three years I basked in my misgiven status of a talented dominionite while Dutton groaned in durance vile as the only American in the college—if not, indeed, in the university—with the infernal temerity to read English. And this despite the difference in quality of performance. In a sort of psychological swing arrangement, Lewis credited Dutton's performances to me and penalized Dutton for mine.

Lewis never played the preceptor, but he had no sympathy with the undergraduate who stayed up all night on the eve of a tutorial to finish his essay. He would pontificate on this one point: "You don't have to work hard if you work steadily—only innately lazy men are hard workers."

AS A SCHOLAR Lewis was basically a classicist; he also, of course, possessed a profound knowledge of Medieval French and Italian literature: his idea of the best in light reading was *Orlando Furioso*. Somewhere in his works he apostrophized Ariosto's masterpiece as the ideal companion for the most pleasant conceivable human situation: convalescence after a long illness, in a house by the sea. But he had, categorically, no great interest in modern literature. His knowledge of German and Russian was scanty. For that matter he made no attempt to hide his irritation at my practice of hauling in Middle and Eastern European authors by the ears for comparison with English writers. He was incensed, for example, when I compared the allegorical characters, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best in *Piers Plowman* to *The Brothers Karamazov*. "Dostoyevsky," he said, "is merely the Russian Dickens."

Lewis was the most popular lecturer at the university: his "Prolegomena to Renaissance Poetry," the title of the lecture series he gave while I was there, always attracted overflow crowds. As the title suggests, here too Lewis's approach to his subject was largely classical. He harped on the necessity for going back to the classical Greek and Latin authors for an understanding of the Renaissance period. The only general remark of his in my lecture

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notes is in this vein: "To die without having read the *Symposium* would be ridiculous—it would be like dying never having bathed in the sea, never having drunk wine, never having been in love."

Lewis was contemptuous of the computing-machine method he associated with American scholarship. He was outspoken on this score in his talk and often sniped in his writing at the tendency: "I do not know whether its personifications [in the *Thebaid* of Statius] are more numerous than those of the *Aeneid* or not, for I have not counted them."

Until he married in 1956, Lewis had a well deserved reputation as a misogynist ("Just drop your cigarette ashes on the carpet: no women around here"). Undergraduates wishing to please the master soon discovered that they had only to pillory a female character in literature, say the Wife of Bath or Rosalind, to elicit a chuckle or a guffaw. It was rumored that his aversion for women dated from an unrequited grand passion in his youth. This, in fact, was the most persistent rumor of all —that Lewis had spent two years as a stage-door Johnny in London when, by all written accounts, he was trying his hand as a poet. He did write poetry in his youth, but little of it came to light. He sometimes quoted his own verse in his books. He clearly fancied himself as a poet and left no doubt that he considered the poet the supreme example of creative genius in human kind. It was perhaps envy on this score that lay at the base of his dislike of T. S. Eliot. I once asked Lewis whether he had read Eliot's "What is a Classic?" "Yes," he replied, "but that was long ago and in a strange house."

Of course, Lewis was witty. I say "of course" because wit is a cult at Oxford. No don could possibly afford not to be witty. Not brilliantly witty, be it understood. Brilliance is too close to the absolute Oxonian taboo against parading knowledge, talent, or excellence in general. What is called for is dry, desultory, almost surreptitious humor, the nonchalant riposte, brilliance hooded like a falcon, or—and best of all—whimsy. The first person I met when I stepped into the Magdalen quadrangle was a former naval officer who accosted me with this address:

"Ah, you're Bailey, are you? Well, now that you're here I suppose you're wondering what to do with yourself. Let me give you some advice. Get yourself a bit of supper, a jug of beer, go down to the river, and punt off into the twilight." In a sense, I spent the next three years punting around in the twilight. But the point is that this was a prepared statement. God knows how long Dowrick, the former naval officer, had spent cooking it up. There are few things more elaborately contrived than the casual remark of an Oxonian. Oxford is the natural habitat of the intellectual ploy. A good portion of the undergraduate's —and the don's—time is spent in the preparation of rejoinders projected against occasions for their use. The occasions are inevitable because it is easy to ambush idiom. Sooner or later, for example, someone is bound to say something like: "Fotheringay is a pretty good philosophy student but he's a long way from Immanuel Kant." The rejoinder: "But surely the difference between the distance separating Fotheringay from Kant and the distance separating Fotheringay's tutor from Kant is negligible." The complexity of this rejoinder is deliberate. By the time the other party figures out the import of the statement it is just barely too late for a riposte.

Lewis himself was not above this sort of thing. He once ployed me during a tutorial and then, when the opportunity again presented itself immediately thereafter, ployed his visitor with exactly the same words. But Lewis was credited with the best impromptu pun I can remember. The occasion was a dinner party. The main dish was a haggis, a fearsome piece of Scotch culinary chauvinism consisting of the blood and guts of a sheep. Lewis was seated next to a Portuguese dignitary who, while partaking of the haggis, remarked that he felt like "a gastronomic Columbus." "The comparison is wayward in your case," said Lewis. "Why not a vascular da Gama?"

Lewis was not popular among his fellow dons. This was due not only to their envy of his fame but also to their distaste of the nature of his fame and to suspicion of the achievement on which his international repute rested. As a popularizer of Christian dogma he was embarrassing to the academic community. Lewis once complained of the lot of the Christian apologist. "We who defend Christianity," he wrote in his book *Miracles*, "find ourselves constantly opposed not by the irreligion of our hearers but by their real religion. Speak about beauty, truth, and goodness, or about a God who is simply the indwelling principle of these three . . . a great spiritual force . . . and you will command friendly interest. But the temperature drops as soon as you mention a God who has purposes and performs particular actions. . . . People become embarrassed or angry. Such a conception seems to them primitive and crude and even irreverent."

I never heard Lewis or anyone else —including the college chaplain —discuss his religious works seriously at Oxford. There was constant discussion, however, of Lewis's scholarly works, *The Allegory of Love*, a study of allegory in the literature of courtly love, and the *Preface to Paradise Lost*. Both these books, and especially the former, are unquestionably among the finest examples of literary criticism in this century. These formed the basis of Lewis's towering reputation as a scholar. But, for the university, Lewis's standing as a scholar was checkmated by his unwelcome fame as an apologist of Christianity. The resulting ambivalence of his position virtually ruled out, I think, Lewis's ever receiving a professor's chair at Oxford. When the poet C. Day Lewis (an outsider and the only other serious candidate), was elected Professor of Poetry in the mid-1950's by a wide margin, Lewis was cut to the quick. He publicly challenged C. Day Lewis to a contest in poetic composition with the chair as the prize. Shortly thereafter Lewis was called to occupy the chair of Medieval and Renaissance English at Cambridge. He readily accepted. Oddly enough the move also involved exchanging his fellowship at Magdalen College, Oxford, for a fellowship at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

He was never "one of the boys," but then few dons are. He kept

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The Decorators by Fernando Krahn

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his distance from undergraduates, and it was roughly the same distance as that separating Fotheringay from Kant. If he had any favorites among us, they were Kenneth Tynan and Tim (Robert) Hardy. This was perhaps mainly because both Tynan and Hardy were very good at reading verse with an actor's sense of rhythm. While at Oxford, Tynan did his best to live up to his middle name—Peacock. Tynan never managed to get Oscar Wilde's rooms in the college but, in addition to his intense activity in university and college dramatics, he played the public role of the fantastico to the hilt—claret-colored trousers, purple shirt, red tie, and bright yellow waistcoat ("Do come up to Edinburgh for some intellectual gaiety"). But Tynan did not like Lewis as a tutor: "He is eternally trotting out his damned figures in tutorials—'Now if you have three apples and I have five bananas. . . .' It's always three apples and five bananas, and no cigar. He's casuistic."

Tynan was referring to Lewis's method of "picture thinking," his use of metaphor and analogy in syllogistic harness to solve all problems. But Tynan's opinion of Lewis mellowed with the years. Not long ago he told me about a fairly recent BBC television appearance of Lewis's. A program director who specialized in candid, unprepared interviews asked Tynan if he thought Lewis would agree to appear on his program. "He might," said Tynan, "but you won't catch him out: he'll get round you, mark my words." The prediction was borne out royally. After a certain amount of sparring, the interviewer sprang his big question: "As *the* authority on *The Allegory of Love,* Mr. Lewis, what is your attitude to the detailed, non-allegorical description of the act of love in literature?" "To describe the act of love in detail without resorting to allegory," answered Lewis, "one is restricted to three choices: the language of the nursery, the language of the gutter, or the language of science—all are equally unsatisfactory."

Lewis's major scholastic feat was his acquisition of a panoramic insight into the nature of allegory. Judging from the following, which is the key passage of *The Allegory of Love,* the insight must have come to Lewis by way of the "shock of recognition": "But to be thus conscious of a divided will is necessarily to turn the mind in upon itself . . . it is plain that to fight against 'Temptation' is also to explore the inner world; and it is scarcely less plain that to do so is already to be on the verge of allegory. We cannot speak, perhaps we can hardly think, of an 'inner conflict' without a metaphor; and every metaphor is an allegory in little. And as the conflict becomes more and more important, it is inevitable that these metaphors should expand and coalesce, and finally turn into a fully-fledged allegorical poem. It would be a misunderstanding to suggest that there is another and better way of representing that inner world, and that we have found it in the novel and the drama. The gaze turned inward with a moral purpose does not discover *character.* No man is a 'character' to himself, and least of all while he thinks of good and evil. Character is what he has to produce; within he finds only the raw material, the passions and emotions which contend for mastery. That unitary 'soul' or 'personality' which interests the novelist is for him merely the arena in which the combatants meet: it is to the combatants—those 'accidents occurring in a substance'—that he must attend. Nor will he long attend to them . . . without giving them their Hegelian 'hands and feet.' For such a man allegory will be no frigid form."

FOR SUCH A MAN allegory became the *modus operandi* for his life work. It is pretty clear from the above passage that Lewis's faith as a Christian had a great deal to do with his method as a scholar. Allegory was the essential link between the two. I think it was this that specially irritated Lewis's critics: he used the instruments of scholarship with poetic license for the popular promotion of Christianity. Concerned as he was with overcoming the average reader's chronic disinterest in the subject, Lewis sometimes went too far in his use of popular imagery—as when he likened the Fall to Humpty-Dumpty and brought in the King's horses and *His* men. The most celebrated example of this tendency is in the book *Miracles.* "The letter and the spirit of scripture, and of all Christianity," Lewis wrote, "forbid us to suppose that life in the New Creation will be a sexual life; and this reduces our imagination to the withering alternative either of bodies which are hardly recognizable as human bodies at all, or else of a perpetual fast. As regards the fast, I think our present outlook might be like that of a small boy who, on being told that the sexual act was the highest bodily pleasure should immediately ask whether you ate chocolate at the same time. On receiving the answer 'No,' he might regard the absence of chocolates as the chief characteristic of sexuality. In vain would you tell him that the reason why lovers in their carnal raptures don't bother about chocolates is that they have something better to think of. The boy knows chocolate: he does not know the positive thing that excludes it. We are in the same position." The trouble was that we, Lewis's students of that time, were *not* in the same position. *Miracles* appeared in 1947, in the midst of the long fast of the British austerity program when chocolate, among a great many other things, was strictly rationed.

Lewis made the "old-time religion" intellectually respectable for many by explaining it with allegory, and thereby rendered himself suspect as a sophistic popularizer to the academic few. He might have weighted the balance of his effort differently, and devoted the bulk of his writing to scholarship rather than to popular exegesis. But he expressly chose to make the most of what he called "the fashionable postwar interest in religion." "Whatever mere fashion has given us," he wrote in 1946, "mere fashion will presently withdraw." The fashion extended over the prime of Lewis's productive powers. But whether Lewis's scholarship, specifically his insight into allegory, was the effective cause or the logical result of his conversion to Christianity is not really important. Whichever one led to the other, they were inseparably interconnected. In Lewis's case we could not have had the Christian without the scholar nor the scholar without the Christian.

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The Many-Faced Terror

SAREL EIMERL

PARIS IN THE TERROR: June 1793-July 1794, by Stanley Loomis. *Lippincott. $6.95.*

The French Revolution might appear the easiest subject imaginable for a historian. It has everything. The flight to Varennes, the murder of Marat, the trial of Marie Antoinette —there are a dozen such glorious episodes of naked melodrama. The mighty struggle for the rights of man against the privileges of monarchy, nobles, and Church, makes the Revolution a watershed of constitutional history. It was ablaze with battle, both foreign and civil. It was the supreme morality play: almost all who lived by the guillotine perished by it also. Yet no one, except perhaps Michelet, has managed to write a satisfactory popular account.

There are two good reasons why the Revolution is so difficult to handle. The first is that it lacks a focal personality or group of personalities. It was like a play in which the audience must get to know a group of new characters at the beginning of every act. In 1789 the principal figures were Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, Mirabeau, and Lafayette; in 1792, they were Danton, Marat, Dumouriez, and the various Girondins; in 1793 and 1794, Robespierre, Fouquier-Tinville, and Saint-Just. The second reason is that the constitutional, political and social issues were so complex that anyone who tries to cover them thoroughly is liable to leave his readers bored and confused. Unless a historian thinks he is up to writing like a Macaulay or a Gibbon, he is best advised to pick out a few aspects of the Revolution, as Mr. Loomis has done. His book is presented as a history of the Terror and of the Terror only in Paris. Loomis is the author of an excellent biography of Madame du Barry; he has the eye of a biographer, and this account is essentially a series of essays on Charlotte Corday, Madame Roland, Marat, Danton, Robespierre, and Fouché, six fascinating characters.

To use Charlotte Corday as a lead-in is an unconventional and brilliant stroke, for she sets the tone that was to dominate France from 1792 to 1794. Like the Girondins she so admired, she was a disciple of Rousseau. The way to achieve the good is to destroy the bad—which is what you don't happen to agree with. That was the simple doctrine of Rousseau and the people he infected. Marat was a diseased and vicious dwarf who was driven by hatred and envy, but he genuinely believed that his actions were governed by love of the downtrodden. He regarded the Girondins as bourgeois, which they were, and therefore organized the Paris mob to destroy them. Charlotte Corday disapproved of his murderous methods; so she murdered Marat, in order to set France free. Naturally her action had precisely the opposite result. Its only consequence was so to inflame the Paris mob that Robespierre was enabled to manipulate it to finish off the Girondins and ultimately take over power himself.

After Charlotte Corday, the author shifts back to deal with Madame Roland, another example of self-delusion run mad and, it might be added, of sexual frustration channeled into a lust for power. She became a revolutionary because she had been snubbed by the aristocrats. She was convinced, like Marat, that she was motivated by love of the people; in fact her strongest emotions were jealousy of Marie Antoinette and hatred of the virile, forceful, and vulgar Danton. She helped keep the Girondins from forming an alliance with him and so left the way open for Robespierre to split them apart and destroy them both at his leisure.

The struggle between Danton and Robespierre is one of the best stories in history. Almost alone among the revolutionaries, Danton made no pretense to idealism. "The Revolution is a battle," he said. "Shall it

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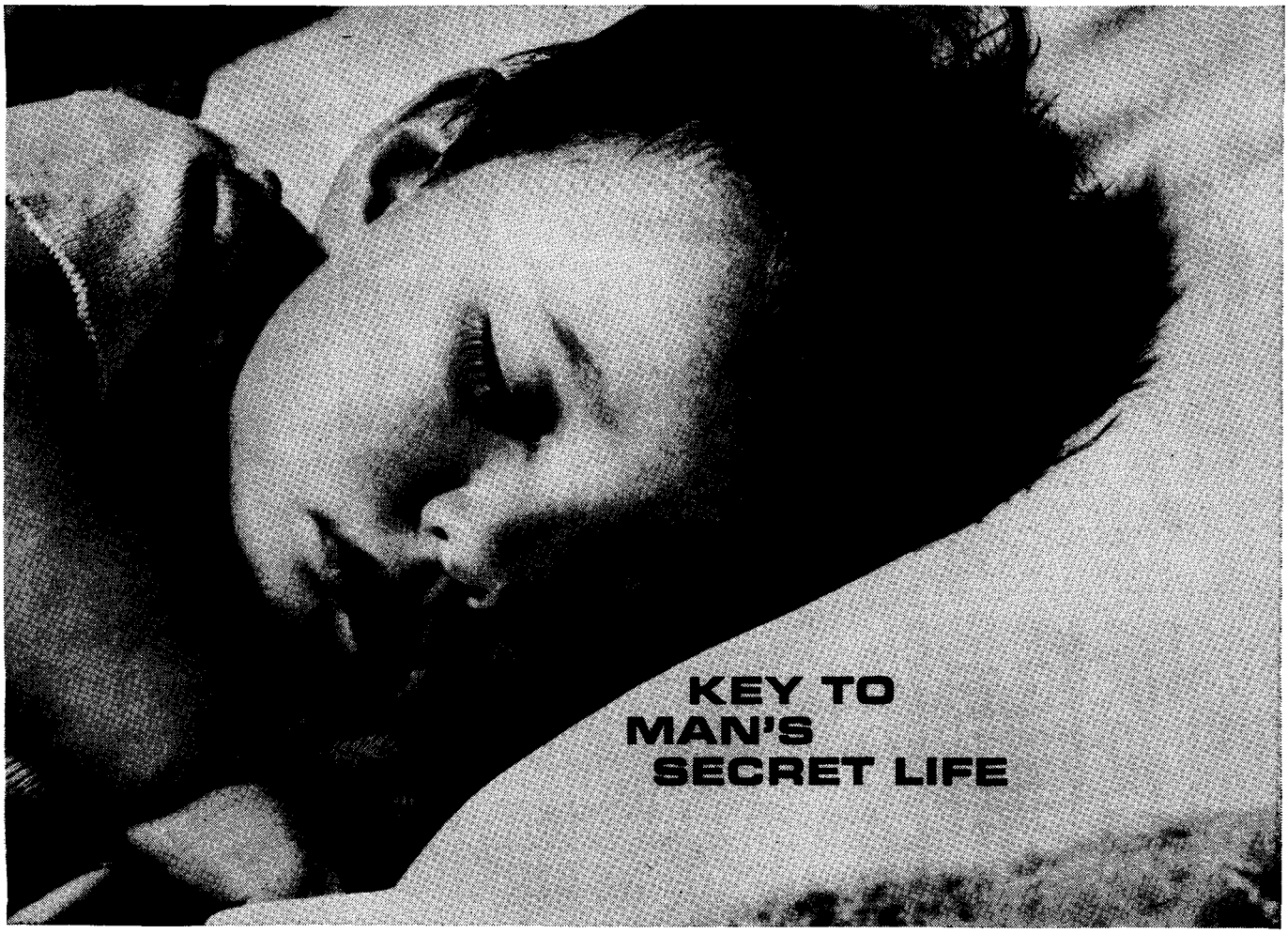
GREAT MOMENTS AT CHICAGO



A student who worked with Nathaniel Kleitman in the University of Chicago "Sleep Lab" reported one day that he had observed peculiar patterns of movement in the eye of a sleeping baby. Dr. Kleitman surmised that the infant was "watching" a dream. This brilliant guess, proved correct by experiment with adults, led to the first direct recording of dreams—by tracing eye movements of sleeping subjects electronically, then waking them to tape the dreams that otherwise would be forgotten. For the first time, man explored the mysterious world he inhabits for a third of his lifetime.

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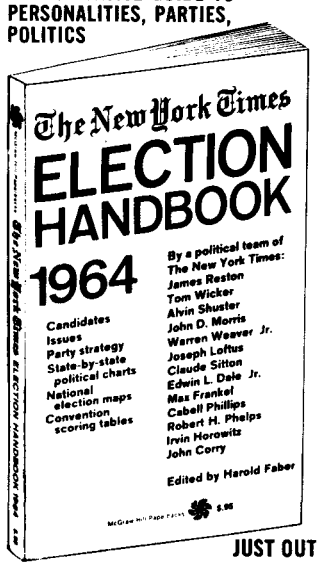

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not be followed like all battles by a division of the spoils among the conquerors?" He did believe in social equality and a strong France. By 1793, he was convinced that the Revolution had gone as far toward achieving those ends as was possible, and he wanted peace—and to enjoy his own spoils. But Robespierre, the greatest Rousseauist and most self-deluded of the revolutionaries, would have none of it.

How Robespierre has managed to win so many defenders among historians is a mystery. He was a loathsome figure: prissy and bitter, virginal and cruel. Perhaps his defenders have been taken in, as Robespierre took himself in, by the cloak of virtue in which he shrouded his viciousness. Though the word "virtue" peppers his speeches, he never managed to explain exactly what he meant by it: idealists are rarely good at specifics. All he knew was that he was determined to make France "virtuous" if he had to kill every Frenchman to do it. "There is no better virtue," Danton told him, "than that which I practice every night with my wife." This remark naturally maddened the sexless Robespierre. Danton was able to relax because he was not only a revolutionary; he was also a man who could enjoy his wife and his friends, his garden and his food. Robespierre, like Marat, could enjoy nothing, not even power, because he was never sure of it. Like Rousseau, he was convinced that the world was organized into a giant conspiracy to destroy him. He was a self-deluding madman who convinced himself that his aim was the public good in order to conceal his true motive: the exercise of absolute power. The Terror, he insisted, must continue until France was safe. What he meant was that it must continue because when it ended his own fall was inevitable.

"Those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." The French revolutionaries were made mad by the belief that they were indispensable and invincible. "Tell Robespierre," said Danton, "that I shall return and that when I arrive I will crush him!" But even as he spoke, Danton was suffering from the weariness of spirit which let him fall, almost without a struggle, into Robespierre's trap. Within a few months, Robespierre in turn underrated Fouché and, at the vital moment, lost control of the Convention. Even his ally, the inhuman, implacable "angel of death," Saint-Just, seemed to lose his power on the same decisive day, and the members of the Convention destroyed them both in order to avoid being destroyed themselves.

Thus the Revolution, which had begun so nobly, ended in a pitiful scramble of cowards for safety. "O, Liberty," Madame Roland is often quoted as saying in her last moment on stage, as she looked at the statue of Liberty which stood beside the guillotine, "what crimes are committed in thy name!"

The Constitution Of 1801

JOHN WILLIAM WARD

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE CONSTITUTION, by Clinton Rossiter. *Harcourt, Brace & World. $6.75.*

In discussing contemporary poets, Robert Frost liked to ask puckishly, "Whose stock is up? Whose stock is down?"—as if reputation were a matter of insiders' speculation. It sometimes seems that way in the writing of history, where facts are supposed to rule fancy. Clearly, in the intellectual marketplace, the stock of Alexander Hamilton is now bullish. The last seven years have been fat ones for Hamilton's reputation: four solid biographies and the auspicious beginning of the Hamilton papers at Columbia.

There is, of course, a reason for all this. "The revival of self-conscious conservatism as a political and cultural phenomenon in the postwar years," Clinton Rossiter writes, "has sent both advocates and students of this point of view rummaging through the past in search of models of American conservatism. Having gone on this search myself, I can say with a conviction born of experience that Hamilton is one of a handful of famous men in our history with whom conservatives and critics of conservatism alike must make their

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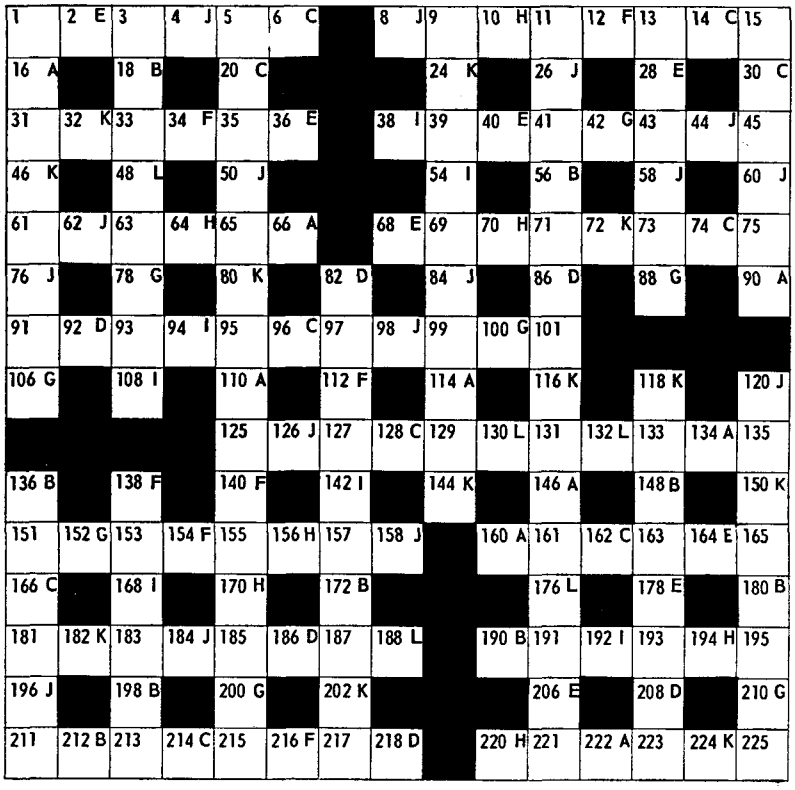
THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No. 100

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A
110 160 134 114 222 16 90 66 146 A shoulder ornament on a military uniform (alt. sp.)

B
190 180 172 56 18 212 148 136 198 A small cup.

C
162 20 166 30 74 128 14 96 214 6 A member of a voluntary military unit.

D
208 92 186 86 218 82 Admiral Byng (1757) was shot for failing to do his this.

E
178 28 68 2 206 40 164 36 "At my_____ / The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes." Shakespeare, "I Henry IV."

F
12 140 112 154 34 216 138 "It is silly sooth, / And ——— with the innocence of love, / Like the old age." Shakespeare, "Twelfth Night."

G
78 100 152 42 88 200 210 106 The job of the Acrostician.

H
10 64 170 70 220 156 194 A song from "South Pacific" (4,3).

I
108 94 168 38 54 192 142 Sound of a drum.

J
4 50 58 76 84 126 98 26 44 120 158 196

184 62 8 60 What might be left from a silver service, at the minimum (3,8,5).

K
118 80 72 202 46 224 116 182 150 32

24 144 What the athlete did the morning after the first practice (5,2,5).

L
132 130 48 188 176 A slipknot, for example.

ACROSS

1. Renounce what is in down.
8. Make the ado bland and you'll not have an evil youth (2,3,3).
31. Offhandedly, a ray in 52.
38. Did a frog die? A dalmatian, perhaps (1,4,3).
61. But in sounding, the emmet may be a daughter!
68. In these bits of underbrush, find the stick.
91. You'll find Emma at Ascot, with 38 across, perhaps, which will encourage the cricketers, strangely enough (1,4,6).
125. What the Acrostician is.
151. What Richard III said he was going to prove, the naughty man (1,7).
160. Wodehouse hero begins with an afterthought.
181. Kind of tree branches to make him slabs from (3,5).
190. Let a rat dig, then pull him along (4,2).
211. These bosses don't have a dog, but still an article in the mangers!
220. If you find him a pulp, he will need your aid to rise (4,2).

DOWN

1. Kind of heavenly body, not a passé actor (4,4).
3. Tongs err but grow more powerful, nonetheless.
5. Hysterical insults among the aborigines? (4,4-7).
9. Impromptu remark useful for holding one or arm's length? (3,3,4).
11. If you approve rice, rest assured you'll like this condiment (7,8).
13. Take a serpent after fifty to mount this.
15. Gee! Tides wait for no man to assimilate.
82. Woodland for fugitives? (4,6).
118. Becoming more sensible or catching on? (6,2).
120. The place for a summit meeting (2,3,3).
136. Obeisance to use in lama's court.
138. Command to a layer, since (obs.)

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peace." The author immediately warns that "This is not, however, an easy thing to do."

Rossiter is principally concerned with Hamilton as a molder of the Constitution. His book, he writes on the first page of his preface, is "primarily a study of the contributions of Hamilton to the creation of that supple instrument of nation-building, the Constitution of 1801. . . ." Now any schoolboy knows that James Madison was the "Father of the Constitution" and that the date of the Constitution is 1789. But Rossiter's whole point is that the Constitution the Federalists turned over to the Jeffersonians who turned them out of office in 1801 was a radically different Constitution from what it might have been if Hamilton had not been there in the crucial early years. For Hamilton, "the Constitution was more properly viewed as a grant of powers" than the "catalogue of limitations" it was for Jefferson. Intent on building a powerful, energetic nation, suspicious of the petty provincialism of Bostonians or Virginians, Hamilton construed the words of the Constitution "broadly, loosely, liberally."

Seizing upon ambiguous phrases like "necessary and proper" and the "general welfare," extending the Executive's war power and the power of Congress to "regulate commerce" to its uttermost limits, Hamilton created a national sovereign power adequate to his dreams for the future glory of the United States and helped engraft that power onto the Constitution through the decisions of the Marshall Supreme Court. "If," Rossiter concludes on the "relevance" of Hamilton today, "we will school ourselves in his rules and interpretations and soak ourselves in his spirit, we can keep the Constitution a living presence in a country whose dimensions and difficulties even he could not have imagined."

HERE, precisely, lies the risk in Rossiter's speculative enterprise. Must we soak ourselves in Hamilton's spirit if we are to accept his supple rules for interpreting the Constitution? Do Hamiltonian means entail Hamiltonian ends? Herbert Croly, an avowed Hamiltonian because of his own intense nationalism, argued in *The Promise of Amer-*

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ican Life that the interdependence and complexity of advanced industrial society made Hamilton's means necessary and inevitable, but that they must serve Jeffersonian ends. Rossiter, although he argues that Hamilton's principles of nationalism and broad construction did not achieve their high place in the American tradition until the final victory of the New Deal, still concludes that "In a dozen ways that count heavily, this is clearly and perhaps even fortunately a Hamiltonian rather than a Jeffersonian country." But surely a good deal of the spirit that animated the New Deal was Jeffersonian, and Rossiter admits that Hamilton probably would have fought the "reforming urges" of that "popular movement" with all his "passion."

In his time Hamilton's means were admirably suited to his ends, which were to check the power of a popular majority and substitute rule by the rich and well-born. Hamilton's division of society into the few and the many may seem close to Jefferson's "natural aristocracy," except that Hamilton made the all too common American identification between property and character. He was realistically aware that government must persuade those who hold economic power to give it allegiance, but he was far too ready to add political power to their economic power on the assumption that men of property were, by definition, the men who should rule. And Jefferson was neither foolishly naïve nor sentimentally idealistic in wanting to check economic power through a broad dispersion of property and to limit political power by resisting the centripetal forces of an energetic national government.

Clinton Rossiter knows all this as well as anyone else, and the great virtue of his book is his determined effort to break out of the prison of a democratic mythology that sees "Jefferson as the Child of Light and Hamilton as the Child of Darkness." Historians, as writers and teachers, have not, he thinks, treated Hamilton fairly; and Rossiter wants to remind us that "While we have every right to be thankful that Jefferson spoke and wrought so effectively for democracy, we might also be more thankful that Hamilton spoke and

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But in these terms, how much use is Hamilton to those conservatives rummaging in our national past for suitable heroes? Rossiter, along with other admirers of Hamilton, claims him as a realist. If by "realist" one means someone who gives due weight to the actual conditions of his society, then Hamilton was an extravagant visionary. He projected an ideal for American society wildly beyond the conditions and aspirations of his time. If one vindicates his vision by reference to Pittsburgh and Detroit, to the America of Carnegie and Ford, then one must, however fallacious the logic of the vindication, accept Hamilton as the prophet of a mixed and managed economy and the seer of an active and intervening governmental power in society.

If by "conservative" we mean ordered change under the rule of law, then Hamilton was a radical revolutionary, even if a radical of the Right. The New York legislature sent him to Philadelphia for "the sole and express purpose" of reporting amendments to the Articles of Confederation, but Hamilton's whole intention was to abolish the Confederation and set up a new government. When the government that was set up fell short of his aspirations for national power, he proceeded to enlarge its scope to what Rossiter calls the Constitution of 1801.

Hamilton is clearly a troublesome figure, for conservatives as well as liberals. His great achievement is precisely what Clinton Rossiter claims for him: the creation of an effective national government when the United States might well have gone the other way and become simply an unstable confederation of warring principalities. As Rossiter says, "In a world in which political energy is a major spur to progress and political power is the key to survival, this constitutionalist who talked incessantly of energy and power makes the kind of sense to posterity that he could never quite make to his own age." But unless we stop talking incessantly about power and ask what are the ends to which power must be used, that power will destroy us all, the rich and the well-born along with the many.

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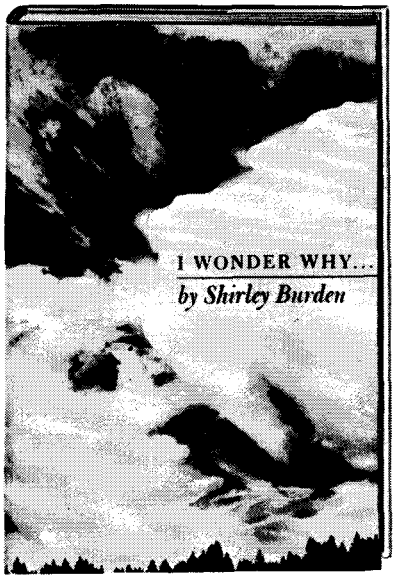

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